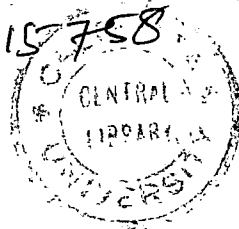


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THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF INDIA

By SIR KIKABHAI PREMCHAND

AT A JOINT meeting of the Association and the Over-Seas League at Over-Seas House on Friday, September 8, 1950, Sir Kikabhai Premchand delivered the lecture printed in the last issue of THE ASIATIC REVIEW (pages 1151-7).

Sir EDWARD BENTHALL, KCSI, presided and in introducing the speaker said it was particularly good of Sir Kikabhai to come along as he had not been well, and had come to Europe for treatment.

Sir Kikabhai's family had been well-known in Bombay for very many years and his father built the Rajabhai Clock Tower, a famous landmark there. Sir Kikabhai's own memorial would be his work and influence in the City of Bombay and in India generally. For many years he was the financial mentor of many States and private business people, and the Reserve Bank and the Government of India always paid particular attention to his balanced views. One who had been for so many years a power in the land would be heard with the greatest interest.

Following upon the address, the CHAIRMAN said he thought Sir Kikabhai had given a simple, concise and reasonable picture of the economic position of India as seen from the Bombay angle ; but as one who had spent most of his business life in Calcutta he thought he could say that people there would largely endorse the speaker's views, particularly on military expenditure, on prohibition and on the lack of economy in overseas establishments. He would also endorse what the speaker said about the bond of friendship with Britain and the cordial welcome extended to those who go and work in India today. The old feelings which had sometimes estranged British and Indian business men in the past no longer exist now that the political issue is removed and it was generally felt that we were " all in the same boat " facing the same stormy weather together. Equally, the relationship between British business and the Government was very cordial. There was, of course, constructive criticism but this was generally accepted in a friendly spirit and, we hope, rendered valuable service to the country.

Sir Edward felt he could not entirely agree with the speaker on the failure to train the administrative services in anticipation of the change over ; although there was a certain amount of truth in this, the circumstances had been extraordinarily difficult and perhaps opportunities were missed on both sides. If the 1935 Act in its entirety had been put through, much would have come about as Sir Kikabhai had hoped 21 •

years ago. Neither could Sir Edward agree with de-rationing of food, as he could not believe that India would become self-supporting by the end of 1951 but felt that heavy imports would be necessary for many years to come, if not forever.

LACK OF INCENTIVES

As to the spirit of enterprise, the Government of India was not the only government interfering with that spirit—we might look a good deal nearer home to see the same thing ! But the fact remained that for wealthy people anxious to trade and develop the country there simply was not the incentive, for if they failed they stood 100 per cent loss, whereas if they succeed they were limited to some 5 per cent of the profits.

Under present taxation Sir Edward continued, there is no scope for capital formation and the consequence is that it is being driven underground and money is now in the hands of those who do not pay their taxes. A recent Finance Minister of India had stated that he did not think he was collecting 50 per cent of his dues. Although there is plenty of money about it is in the hands of black marketeers instead of being among those who pay their taxes and finance industries in an ordinary straightforward manner, leaving capital development in the hands of either bad citizens or to the Government itself. Sir Kikabhai asks for foreign capital but perhaps India is making the mistake of modelling its taxation on highly-developed Western countries while her own industries are relatively new. If India wishes to attract foreign capital, she must make the conditions more suitable and the profits left to a venture must be more commensurate with the risks involved. If India were to model herself on the United States of the last century and throw open her doors to capital from every quarter, she would breed a spirit of adventure within the country which would go far to attract foreign capital and lead to her own rapid development.

INDO-PAKISTAN ECONOMY

Sir CHUNILAL MEHTA stated that the four most important products India needs at the present time are cotton, jute, wheat and rice. These have been imported since 1946/7 to the value of about Rs. 100 crores and this has limited the importation of other articles such as plant and machinery. Now, he continued, the Government seeks to discontinue importing food grains after the end of 1951 and is trying to increase supply in all directions with new schemes for intensifying cultivation, and providing good seeds and other incentives to production. In September 1949 when India devalued the rupee, difficulties arose because Pakistan did not follow suit. With their close trade relations the economy of India and Pakistan could not be divided or dealt with separately.

Since that time India's imports of cotton and jute from Pakistan have almost stopped and while Pakistan is able to dispose of a good amount of her cotton crop she cannot find buyers for her wheat and jute, and yet India is suffering from acute jute and cotton shortage. Jute and cotton mills are working shorter hours and even textile mills are closing down ; the latest development being a very serious strike in Bombay where about 60 mills are closed and only between 15 and 20 still working. This all indicates that Indian and Pakistan economy cannot be separated. Recently the President of the Muslim League, stated : " The Pakistan decision not to devalue her currency has led to a situation in which the agricultural population is hard hit " and he asked for a full Parliamentary debate on the Pakistan Government's policies on currency, food and jute. The world at large has no confidence in the ability of Pakistan to maintain its present high value of the rupee, about 2s. 2d. The public in Pakistan are buying foreign exchange because they can get a pound note for 10 rupees or less and, rightly or wrongly, have no confidence that the rate of exchange will be maintained. As long as this disparity continues and trade between the two countries does not take its proper form, the economic conditions of both countries will suffer.

Various other problems include that of refugees. Since 1947 and up to March 1950, India has spent Rs. 70 crores, (700 million) in rehabilitating seven million refugees—and this is still only a drop in the ocean. At a refugee conference last month in Delhi it was suggested that a capital levy should be imposed for this purpose and this suggestion was passed to the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru.

On the credit side is the improvement in India's trade balance during the past year ; in 1948/9 there was an unfavourable balance of Rs. 215 crores, which has now (in 1949/50) been reduced to 90 crores—a good step in the right direction. There is also a scheme for profit sharing, but both the Minister of Industry and the Minister of Finance have said that this scheme cannot be put into operation under present circumstances. In spite of all this I have no doubt that India has a very bright future before her and will shortly be able to put her economy in order, but it will require careful handling.

THE EVASIONS

Sir COWASJEE JEHangIR wished to present another point of view about complaints over taxation. It had been stated that it was impossible to build up capital for industrial purposes, but suppose the floodlight was thrown upon the capitalists themselves? Complaining about the Government was easy but how far had the industrialist helped himself and how far had the Government been compelled to act in the manner

by the actions of those industrialists ? The Chairman had clearly stated that money in India today was largely in the hands of industrialists who had not paid their full taxes, and that if they had paid the amount levied by the Government they would not have had any money left for industrial purposes.

The fact that a large number of them (Sir Cowasjee continued) have used fortunes for industrial purposes shows that they are aware that the money has been illegally obtained. When the Government finds that taxes are not paid it has to increase those taxes, the result usually being that the honest man pays and the dishonest man is not caught ! Committees are appointed with distinguished lawyers serving on them, to find out and catch these men, but very little is done.

I am in complete agreement with the Chairman about controls on food. When these were removed two or three years ago the result was increased black marketing and starvation. Controls had to be reimposed because the merchant did not play the game. It would be suicidal to remove controls now, yet it was Mr. Gandhi who has been the strongest advocate for their removal, with such disastrous results. It was due to the actions of some of our own people that the controls had to be imposed so strictly.

There is not the slightest doubt that the heavy taxation in India is a great burden on the people, and this same complaint is made in Britain and many other countries. I would not complain so bitterly if I could see some return for it ; but hospital services and education are being starved, there is a scarcity of food, a scarcity of housing and now the Government is prepared to lose Rs. 17 crores of revenue in Bombay province by the enforcement of prohibition. And what good will it do ? In the short time it has been in existence illicit distillation has increased, and the poor man gets his liquor at his door instead of going to the shop or pub to pay for it. In time the Government will learn its lesson, but by then the province of Bombay will be permanently starved. America had to learn the lesson, but she was an enormously rich country and could afford experiments.

Referring to the spirit of enterprise which Sir Kikabhai Premchand had mentioned in his address, Sir Cowasjee agreed that it would return. There would be a setback, as now in England, because in India they had lost through independence a large number of administrative officers. Great credit was due to the few Indian members of I.C.S. who were carrying on today. People in England often do not realize what India owed to these men ; more of them were needed and it was to be hoped that India will produce them. In his view pessimism did not pay in this world : one might as well go to the grave if one was going to be a pessimist,

but an optimist had life and if the Indian industrialists would be optimistic there need be no fear for the future.

The Right Hon. LESLIE WILSON remarked that there seemed to be divergence of opinion on many points and, although of no particular party himself, he was very interested to hear the different points of view. But there was one important matter on which they all thought alike and that was the spirit of co-operation ; if they would all work together in India as eleven did on the cricket field, bringing all sides together and playing the game for the benefit of India and for that purpose alone, there might be a much better understanding. Sir Kikabhai's remarks had caused following speakers to say that everything is India today was not quite so beautiful as we would like it to be, yet in England everyone wanted whole-hearted co-operation and friendship with a great Dominion which had done so much for her in the past.

SIMILARITIES WITH BRITAIN

Sir STANLEY REED, joining in the expression of thanks to Sir Kikabhai spoke of his acquaintance with his father, Mr. Premchand Roychand, who filled so great a part in the Bombay of the 'sixties. He stressed the admiration he felt at the courage and enterprise with which Sir Kikabhai and his brother, Mr. Manecklal had built up the finance and bullion House which had exercised so conspicuous an influence on the industrial development of India. To one who had lived and worked in Bombay, stimulated by the spirit of adventure which animated its leading business men, it was a shock to hear that the boldness of enterprise was declining and the business community was looking to conservation rather than to new fields of activity. Then listening to what Sir Kikabhai said of the depressing effect of high taxation, the multiplicity of controls, and the dead hand of the State, he wondered for a moment if this was not a slip—that Sir Kikabhai was thinking of Britain and not of India. This similarity of the conditions in the two countries illustrated how far was the spread of the State machine, and—this in all seriousness—if the consequence of democracy was to create a vast and increasing bureaucracy, might they not reach a stage when the bureaucracy would destroy democracy ?

Dr. H. S. BATRA thought the cardinal factor in the economic policy of India had been missed, i.e. the increasing pressure of population. India was about 13 times the size of England, and the density of population was slightly less, about 11 or 12 times, but how was it that England could prosper and India had a deficiency of food grains. England imported a lot ; but she intensified cultivation and increased the yield from the land

by the use of tractors and fertilizers, and he felt that it would have paid the Government of India to spend a few millions of pounds on such aids to increase their yield. Although this would not have met the situation entirely it would go a long way to reduce the crippling burden of sums used to import food grains.

The CHAIRMAN, in summing up, said that Sir Kikabhai admitted to a slight difference of opinion over some of his statements, but agreed that most of these differences could be overcome by the co-operation which Sir Leslie Wilson recommended. He did not therefore think it necessary to reply to the individual speakers.

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE endorsed the praise which had already been given to Sir Kikabhai for his extraordinarily interesting paper and thanked him on behalf of all present. He also expressed appreciation to Sir Edward Benthall for occupying the chair and for his wise and encouraging remarks, although he could not agree with all that Sir Edward said, particularly in regard to the training of a good administrative service from among the Indians, which he thought the British Government had taken the opportunity of doing for years before Independence. They had had a most interesting afternoon and he wished to express the thanks of the meeting.

Before closing the meeting, the Chairman expressed the thanks of the audience to Lady Premchand for her hospitality in providing tea.

INDIA'S SOCIAL PROBLEM

By SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, KCSI, KCIE

AT A MEETING of the East India Association, jointly with the Over-Seas League, held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, on Tuesday, September 26th, 1950. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar gave a lecture on the Indian social structure.

The Right Hon. Lord HAILEY, GCSI, GCMG, GCIE, presided and in introducing the lecturer said that there must be many in the audience who, like himself, had watched Sir "C. P.'s" career with interest and admiration. He had joined the Madras Bar in 1903, and gone on from strength to strength, till he could now with justice be described as one of the elder statesmen of India. He (the Chairman) had been closely associated with Sir C. P. in the discussion which led to the enactment of the India Bill of 1935. He was personally glad, however, that Sir C. P. was to address them now on the social rather than the political problems of India, for

her social problems remained of outstanding interest, and like Sir George Trevelyan, he believed in the doctrine that "political changes are the effect rather than the cause of social changes."

Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR said : The choice of subject was not mine, but Sir Frank Brown's, and I have no doubt he was actuated in choosing it by the idea that not enough has been said about the social revolution that has taken place and is proceeding apace in Asia as a whole and in India in particular. That revolution has been as essentially fruitful of great results as the political manifestations of which we naturally hear more.

To speak on India's social problems is to speak on a subject which is as extensive in scope and as multiform in character as the country itself. Very few persons have taken a bird's eye view of these problems. Let me give you one or two instances. It is commonly asserted that the position of women in India has been one of inferiority and subjection, and there has been a complete absence of political and social rights. Yet one may point out that perhaps India affords the only instance in the world of a country where property rights were primarily inherent in women, who were the roots of descent and the men were by no means predominant in the family. I am referring to the great matriarchal system which prevailed over large parts of India, and is now especially seen in full strength along its south-western coast. One important result of that system was that the education of women and the social status of women were unique in the world. Let me give an instance. In the State of Travancore and the adjoining areas of Cochin and Malabar the proportion of women able to read and write is between 40 and 50 per cent., whereas a few miles away the proportion is 8 or 9 per cent. I mention this, not so much for the purpose of pointing a moral as in order to point out that there is no reason to believe that the Indian social problem can be dealt with in bulk and as one integral thing. The problem itself is various and has varied from age to age and from locality to locality.

ABSORPTIVE POWER OF HINDUISM

Let me begin at the beginning and endeavour to be antiquarian. One of the things which is so often taken for granted is the immutability of the caste system and what may be called the segregation of different sub-communities or castes. The history of India brings before us on the other hand a remarkable state of affairs. One of the most conspicuous things about the very early stages of Indian history was that wave after wave of invaders or immigrants came into the country and combined their types of civilization, culture, and life with those of the original

inhabitants. There were not only intermarriages on a large scale between the various communities, but the open and avowed adoption of different cultures and even of different godheads and personages for worship. It may not be known to many that one of the earliest sacrificial ceremonies described in the *Veda* is what has been called *Vratyastoma*. This was a ceremony by which the original inhabitants of India were converted and admitted into the society of the invaders. It is not of purely antiquarian interest for us to remember that as long as 2,500 years ago it was not only possible but taken for granted that the original inhabitants of the country, who were different in colour, in physical configuration and in culture, could nevertheless be assimilated to the Aryans by a process of religious and social transformation. That process went on continuously for hundreds, almost thousands of years. To say, therefore, that there has been something immutable about the social configuration of India would be inaccurate.

I go further. Recent discoveries and excavations in various parts of India have brought it pointedly to our attention that there were not only inter-marriages on a large scale, but the adoption of what is perhaps the most noteworthy form of cultural development, namely, the adoption of the gods of the country by the conquering races. It is now fairly well proved that the specific worship of one of the great figures in the trinity of the Indian godhead, Siva and of the great mother goddess, was not confined to India but extended through many parts of Central Asia. All these were proto-Aryan concepts. The Aryans accepted the worship of the people into whose land they came.

A FUSION OF CULTURES

I refer to these historical or pre-historical developments to show that there was nothing immutable about the method of development in the Indian social system; in other words, there was a fusion of cultures and modes of worship—in India a fusion between those who were called Aryans and those who were aboriginal to the country. Really it may be said that up to a certain period the Indian community was not a cast-iron entity but was the result of amalgamation or fusion. This amalgamation or fusion continued to be characteristic of Indian life for many centuries.

The system of caste—a stratification which was intensified after the Muslim invasion—was originally functional and depended upon certain individual concepts. The castes were not immutable—not even always hereditary to start with. Undoubtedly the caste system crystallized itself, stereotyped itself, ossified itself, so that it became not an intelligible functional organization, but a means of senseless perpetration of

outmoded ideas. It was the degradation of an idea which was originally of great value.

REFORM MOVEMENT

But there is another aspect of this matter which is not always kept in view. Notwithstanding the tendency of the caste system to fall into an unassimilable group of entities, nevertheless there have been successful revolts right through which have indicated that the genius of India was alive and at work. I refer, of course, to the great revolts led by Maharai and Buddha and also by Kabir, Nauda and Nauak. They led revolts against the purely formalistic religion, but they also led attacks against certain tendencies which they considered inimical, such as the rigidity of race or colour prejudice which exists even now in certain parts of the world and amongst people who are supposed to be in the forefront of civilisation.

Social differences and prejudices are universal and by no means confined to India. But in dealing with the very early records of India, we come across a period when even people who could not pronounce properly some letters or words were marked out for persecution. This was similar to the history of "shibboleth" in Hebrew civilization. In India as elsewhere colour and race prejudice, and even prejudice based on linguistic differences were not unknown—the kind of thing which is seen in operation to-day in South Africa and in certain parts of the United States.

It would however be difficult when travelling through India to-day to discover any vestiges of these early stages. In fact what has happened is the assimilation of these heterogeneous elements which originated in different races or cultures and have been welded into the great Indian community.

THE PROCESS OF FUSION

By the Buddhist system of monks and nuns, who enjoyed a high status, there was brought about a complete change in the status of women in respect of religion and education in many lands. Hinduism itself modified its outlook and assimilated its matriarchal system in the far south-west. There fusion encountered a certain amount of opposition, but after 400 or 500 years the fusion was complete. In spite of recent manifestations of communal differences between Brahmans and non-Brahmans or between one part of the country and another, nevertheless the fact remains that all the racial elements are practically fused together. The process went on for centuries until a composite race—a composite India—was evolved.

This process would have gone on continuously and perhaps there would have been an integrated and unified culture but for a new development, the result of successive incursions of Turks, Arabs, Afghans, and people who belonged to the great proselytizing Islamic religion. The conflict between these two great systems, Hindu and Muslim, which was fundamental in several respects, led as a matter of reaction to greater stratification and to a deterioration in the position of women in respect of education and property rights.

I can give you a large number of instances—where however the process of osmosis (to take a term from physics) went on even between Hindu and Muslim cultures. There were, however, many factors which militated against that elimination of differences. Practically from medieval times the caste systems grew more and more rigid in several respects, the most important change brought about by Muslim invasions being the introduction of the purdah system, especially in northern India, and the rapid deterioration in the status of women. The caste system became less capable of adaptation and change, and the present illogical scheme of things which marks Hindu groups was the result. And yet during the very period of Muslim supremacy many protestant and eclectic forms of thought and life profoundly affected the caste idea.

I have deliberately dealt with this aspect of the matter because it is essential in speaking of the Indian social system to bear in mind, not the differentiation, not the numerous sub-divisions and sub-groupings so often referred to, but the fundamental and historic fact that for over 2,000 years the progress was on the lines of unification.

This may be further exemplified in one or two striking ways. Right through the history of India there have been a continuous series of men who have tried to bring about a kind of unified and uniform way of looking at life and solving its problems irrespective of birth, race or colour. It is specially worth noting, that from the eighth up to the fifteenth century there were great reform movements in India, Vaishnuite, Saivite, Sikh, Kabirpauth and others by reason of which many castes which were supposed to be outside the pale were brought into the existing structure life. Many communities, formerly outside, were brought in through the influence and teachings of Ramanuja, Chaitanja Kebir and the Liugayets of the South. My thesis therefore is that the history of India is a history of gradual assimilation.

IDEALS OF RENUNCIATION

Let me come to the period when the English established their supremacy. Just before that period the Hindu and Muslim cultures were evolving

into an integrated whole. The creation of the Hindustani or Urdu language is itself one of the great triumphs of mutual assimilation. That language is the result of military camps and court life, bringing into currency one way of expression.

I need not speak of the great Indo-Saracenic architecture and the great music which unites Hindu and Muslim elements. There are many ways in which these two civilizations worked together, a process which carried every promise of leading to wonderful results.

But there is a basic aspect of the whole of this development of the Indian social system which has its lesson for the world at large to-day, and that is the outstanding, inescapable fact that right through this century Indian leaders and even Indian monarchs have upheld the ideal of simplicity, poverty and pursuit of knowledge along the path of renunciation. The ideal of the man who gives up rather than of the man who acquires has been the common characteristic of both the Hindu and the Mohamedan elements of the country. That has made a tremendous difference in the evolution of the Indian social system. It was this system which produced a man like Gandhiji.

I do not cast any aspersions on other systems, but money power is now a greater menace in social life, a greater source of aggressive temptation than in the past. This is inevitable when one has to compete with an industrial, progressive, and acquisitive system of civilization. The growth of the Indian social system may be profoundly modified by that new factor which has come into Indian life and society.

PERSONAL COMMUNITY LAW

One of the forces that tended to create a new situation and minimize those influences that were operating in the past was the legal system brought in by the British Government when they began to administer the country and acquire dominion. The process of half unconscious growth, the spontaneous evolution of society into new forms, was checked, not of set purpose, but merely because it was difficult for foreigners to foster reforms or to bring about social or religious modifications. Thus during a period of a hundred years there was a constant tendency to stereotype past forms where otherwise there would have been evolutionary change from within. With this check to this evolution of social laws which had been proceeding even during the medieval period, a rigid social hierarchy and many indefensible usages which would otherwise have been transformed or eliminated were perpetuated. Notwithstanding several exceptional reform movements, untouchability became a feature of society. Ultimately we have arrived at an epoch when there is a

complete change of outlook such as is now taking place. For the moment I shall confine myself to Gandhi's great work both with regard to the position of women and to the position of untouchables. The process which began many centuries ago had been undoubtedly checked before this advent. The position of the untouchable was miserable, and it required a great sage and political leader to bring about the essential modification quicker than was possible even to Raja Ramohun Roy and Swami Vivekananda.

TOLERANCE

The task before the present Government is to hasten the process which, according to my submission, was already inherent in the country—It was something spontaneous, and not imposed from without. After all, what does the history of India, taken by and large, teach us? It teaches us that India undoubtedly had been more tolerant towards other states and groups and nations than most other countries. Centuries ago there was great persecution of the Jews in the country of their origin. Jerusalem was sacked and burnt. Escaping Jews found shelter in India, where they enjoyed complete tolerance and have held properties and exercised many franchises. This progress has been specially encouraged by India's rulers. There has been no persecution of Jews there for 1900 years and the Jews of India have always been undisturbed.

The same tolerance was displayed towards the immigrant Syrian Christians and Parsees. When a great wave of persecution rose in Persia, driving the Zoroastrians out of the country of their origin, they came and settled in a portion of the Bombay Presidency. They were not only given hospitality and protection but acquired special trading rights, subject to some minor conditions. For over 1,500 years the Parsees have continued in India and to-day they form one of the most industrially active and financially prosperous units in the community.

The Syrian Christians, again, came away from the land of their origin because of doctrinal differences (which so often have led to the breaking of heads) at the Council of Constance. In India they received excellent treatment and are occupying key positions in all offices of activity and public life.

PRESENT DAY CHANGES

In the great experiment now being enacted in India, the experiment of building a new nation, all these tendencies, these traditions will undoubtedly play a great part in bringing about the elevation of the

untouchables, and the raising of the position of women, and in implementing the programme of the welfare state. There are certain processes that are taking place in India which may produce great and drastic changes and diversions from the social policy of the past, I refer to the great changes in the status of the Indian rulers, the landlords and zamindars, and the revolutionary laws for the protection of the tenant and the tiller of the soil. All these reforms are bound to lead to a different grouping of the Indian social system. Suffice it to say that in that grouping the traditions and possibilities of the past must not be lost sight of. It is too soon to dogmatize on the ultimate results, but it is clear that a new period of adaptation and integration is in sight. In the future we may find the evolution and unlooked for development of many communities which to-day are not fully cognizant of their strength and their possibilities.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF BRITISH RULE

The CHAIRMAN, said that in Sir C. P.'s masterly picture of the development of India's social system, he had not of course covered the whole field, but had concentrated on the factors which had in the past produced the caste structure and which might affect the form taken by it in the future. He was quite prepared to join with Sir C. P. in believing that the Muslim invasion had, by its inevitable reaction on Hinduism, assisted to crystalize the stratification of Indian society by the caste system. But he noticed that the lecturer, in the course of his historical analysis, and (no doubt from some motives of delicacy) refrained from dwelling at any length on the effect of the British regime on the Indian social structure. Sir C. P. had at all events avoided that wholesale condemnation of the effect of British rule on India's social history which they had grown accustomed to expect from some quarters.

In the few remarks which he, the Chairman, had to make he would confine himself to that topic in particular. The lecturer had referred to the part which the British codification of Indian law had played in stereotyping the caste system. But apart from this, it was always held to be a weakness of British rule that we had been unduly timid in dealing with social questions and had consequently done little to aid in the healthy development of Indian social custom. If so, it must be recalled that the British government had had its warning against venturing to touch Hindu custom; Tilak's campaign of 1890 onwards was the starting point of Indian political unrest, and it was occasioned entirely by the British attempt to reform a very unedifying feature in Hindu social custom.

Nevertheless, he, the Chairman, thought that British rule had in fact gone further than usually believed in influencing the modern development of custom, and particularly in the breakdown of the caste stratification which in the lecturer's view was a hindrance to the closer integration of Indian society. Sir C. P. had omitted to note the indirect effect of the economic changes which had been the result of British rule, the improvement of communications, the general rise in the standard of living, the growth of industry and trade—all of which had had a marked effect in producing change in custom. All historical experience showed the rapidity with which the social life of a community reacted to economic changes.

As for the future, there could be no doubt that the spirit born of India's new political status must show itself in rapid and perhaps far reaching changes in the social structure. But it was by no means certain what form these changes would take. They might take the form of a closer integration of Indian society. On the other hand, there might well be a new form of stratification, on different but equally well marked lines. The lecturer had himself referred to some of the factors which might produce this result, such as the elimination of the Indian States, the gradual extinction of a landed gentry, and the introduction of an industrialist regime. There might be other equally important factors, and the result might well be a realignment of different classes on lines not less definite than the present caste system.

SEX EQUALITY

Lady HARTOG spoke on the changes in the position of women to which the lecturer had briefly referred in his brilliant and sweeping survey. She did so with some reluctance in the presence of her friend Lady Rama Rau, one of the leaders of the women's movement, who when she was resident in England in the nineteen thirties had done more than almost anyone to dispel the prevailing ignorance about the new India, and to destroy the illusion that Indian women were meek, downtrodden chattels of their menfolk. She well remembered in those days when British women were working to get as large a measure of franchise for women as possible through the 1935 Act, under the leadership of that outstanding woman, Eleanor Rathbone, that they thought in their ignorance that the Indian women's organisations and the able representatives that they sent over to give evidence were being unrealistic when they asked for complete equality, adult suffrage, a fair field and no favour. They did not realise—she frankly admitted she had not realized—the power that Gandhi's long championship of women had had, not only on the spirit and outlook of women but on the Congress party as a whole.

When independence came Indian women obtained all their demands, and British women had watched with admiration, not untinged with envy, Indian women outstrip them in the part they played in political life. In what country had there been at one and the same time a woman Cabinet Minister, a woman Governor and a woman Ambassador? It was written in the Indian constitution that neither sex, race, nor creed was to be a barrier to the holding of any office under the state. It was true that amid all these sweeping changes of status there still remained the legal disabilities of women under Hindu law, but these, too, would be removed when the Hindu Code Bill got through, as it would do although it had met with considerable opposition from the orthodox.

In education, of course, women had still a long way to go before they caught up with men in numbers at every stage, but in the Elphinstone College at Bombay there were actually this session a thousand women students, a number exceeding that of the men. Certainly if India was going to become a welfare state the major part of the social services would fall on women, and she could not help feeling that of all the new developments in the social and economic structure none, not even industrialization, would bring changes more fundamental or more important in the whole life of the nation than the changes in the position of women and the flowering of Indian womanhood.

OPENING UP NEW VISTAS

Mrs. E. M. MUNSIFF also referred to the important position held by Indian women and their influence in every part of the basic network of the Indian social system. Political emancipation had given a great stimulus in educational and other spheres. In 1947—the year of independence—they embarked on ambitious programmes of elementary and basic education for men and women, together with the abolition of religious inequalities and social distinctions. All these measures had the willing support of all Indians. They opened up new vistas. The problems facing India were many, especially in view of the vast expanse of the country and the variety of its population, not to mention the international situation. During her three years of independence India had made substantial advances, and before long India, she believed, would have a modern social system to present to the world at large.

INEQUALITIES AND NATURAL CAPACITY

Mr. PHIROZSHAH MEHTA agreed that there were grounds for optimism, but there were also underlying forces which were possible origins of trouble. A social order was dependent on its environment and on its relation to policy and economy. The old social order, the caste system,

had as one of its accepted doctrines the inequality of man. There was in operation also the principle of avoidance. This new idea of the inequality of man persisted for many centuries. Even the Greek city states accepted it. Plato and Aristotle were no further ahead than the authors of the *Vedas*. It fell to the lot of Cicero to be first in teaching the equality of man. But when Cicero presented that idea it was as a moral necessity and therefore necessarily time would pass before it became of practical effect. Indeed, it fell to John Locke to propound unequivocally the absolute equality of man.

This idea, of course, contravened the old Hindu idea, which, it must be remembered, was not wrong, for when Hindus were considering the inequality of man they were considering the natural capacities and inheritance of each man. But the new idea of equality was with reference to the equality of all individuals before the law and the equality of opportunity for full development. Certain interesting differences might be seen in the way in which this idea had evolved in America and in Britain. America had accepted the idea that all government was a necessary evil, and that it was good for all people to conform to a particular way of life. Through the influence of Mill in England individuality and individual uniqueness were exalted and government was accepted as a positive good for bringing about social improvement. He mentioned this because the British idea particularly and the American idea secondarily was having its influence on India.

MUSLIM INFLUENCE

Another factor concerned was Muslim influence. In desert lands there was strong authoritarian rule in order that the tribe or community might preserve itself against the onslaught of its neighbours. There had to be a stricter discipline than in fertile prosperous lands like India, but through the remarkable vision of Muhamed, Islam brought the idea of brotherhood, which, however, was restricted to the real brotherhood of Islam. It was a religious brotherhood. In Islam, again, marriage was a social contract; in Hinduism it was a spiritual sacrament, not exactly identical with but akin to the Christian concept of marriage as a spiritual sacrament.

To-day in India Hindus and Muslims formed the two largest groups. Therefore those underlying conceptions would continue to interact and would raise certain problems with which the community of to-day and to-morrow must deal. There had also been an egalitarian principle operating throughout Indian history, broadening down from precedent to precedent. These were the influences which had been at play upon the Indian social order and they were still at play. New political and

economic changes had their modifying influence, but the power of great deep-seated ideas could not be wiped out. If there was one criterion, however, from which they might judge a society's worth and status, it was the position of its women. She had had a woman ambassador at Moscow—not a very comfortable place to be an ambassador in—who was representing her country at Washington, and she had had a woman governor. In India's women lay to a very considerable extent the well-spring of her future strength and influence, and this would one day play one of the profoundest parts in producing a true social harmony which would make some useful contribution at least to the world at large.

AN ORGANIC UNITY

Dr. S. MALAIPERUMAN said that he was rather perturbed by one statement made by the previous speaker, that the inequality of man was inherent in the caste system of India. He thought the Hindu concept of society was that of society as an organic unity. The caste system was that of society as an organic unity where each and every sect or group had a divinely ordained function to perform. The caste system was based on the economic division of labour.

The same speaker had made reference to the impact of Islam on Indian thought and the fusion of Hindu and Islamic ideas in the social system. He did make a passing reference to the contribution made by Christian agencies. The importance of the pioneer work done by Christian institutions and agencies in the field of social reform and the removal of untouchability could not be minimized.

He had one question to ask : How could the genius of Indian culture and tolerance and the assimilation of heterogeneous elements be reconciled with the present trend of certain reactionary forces to try and make India a Hindu state ?

Mrs. AZARIAH said that the lecturer had made the very significant observation that India had inherent masterful ability, which meant that the successful handling of affairs now and in the years to come was practicable.

It was undeniably true however that their social system had led to colossal difficulties in the way of progress in their country—cultural, social, economic—and in the adjustment necessary for the country to be at all equal to the other nations of the world. They could not get away from the fact that in modern times they had to tackle all the mistakes that resulted from their social order, however, glorious it might have been in the beginning.

She desired also to pay her small tribute to the British in India. In the security afforded by the British, the down-trodden were encouraged to

claim certain rights. So far as women were concerned she reminded the audience that the power of the purse was with the womenfolk. But she would be failing in her duty if she did not mention how much the inspiration, leadership, and example of the women of the West, particularly during the last two terrible wars, had helped the women of India in regaining their rightful place beside the men and sharing their responsibilities in the building of the New India.

DECISIONS ON PERSONAL LAW

Sir C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, replying to a question on the legal system, said that one of the root ideas in Britain was that judges expounded but did not make the laws ; notwithstanding that subconsciously over the last thousand years new laws had been made as a result of court decisions, and the same process had gone on in India. A code was imposed upon India, a very distinguished body, the Privy Council, began to function, and naturally, being unacquainted with the dynamics of social growth, they were anxious to preserve what was rather than work for what should be.

With regard to caste differences no doubt environment played a great part in determining individual differences. What was often forgotten was that by their innate conception, while there was differentiation between one form of occupation and another, no employment was deemed essentially degrading. Another point was that while there might not be equality of capacity there should be equality of opportunity.

With regard to recent developments in the conception of a Hindu state, to which one speaker had referred, he was proud to be a Hindu, but any group of politicians who wished to establish something different from the tolerant and adaptive faith of the past, something totalitarian or based upon prejudice—were in his opinion not behaving as true Hindus. If he had made his argument at all convincing, Hindu civilization was a thing of composite origin and development, and not one strand in that texture should be displaced or ignored.

Lady RAMA RAU brought to the attention of the meeting the interest of the women in Bombay in poliomyelitis, which had lately shown a somewhat alarming incidence. For three years now, entirely as a private venture, a little clinic had been working for the rehabilitation of children crippled as a result of this disease. They had now set their hearts on building a rehabilitation hospital in Bombay, the clinic having proved inadequate to meet the need. The nucleus was already completed, and a considerable but insufficient sum of money had been collected. To assist the collection of funds some special Christmas cards had been

printed, and she hoped that friends and those interested would purchase these Christmas cards as a means of helping this effort.

On the proposition of the Right Hon. Sir JOHN BEAUMONT, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and the Chairman.

P R E S E N T D A Y P R O B L E M S

Mr. J. CHINNA DURAI, who had been asked to speak but was prevented by lack of time from doing so, writes : An impression readers of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's lecture may derive is that India would have had few if any serious social problems to face to-day were it not for the British, whose interpretations of personal law were a check on the evolutionary trend of Indian life. For reasons best known to himself he had very little to say of present day conditions, and indulged in a long account of social evolution from pre-historic times. He had a golden opportunity, as an elder statesman, to face the facts in a realistic way and deal courageously with the wrongs and evils that so lamentably persist in modern India, with a view to suggesting ways and means of their amelioration or overthrow. This would have meant, however, the showing up of his own community—the Brahmins—as the prime architects of the old social edifice, with all its superstitions and inequalities between man and man.

It is no comfort to the generality of Indians to be told that they have had at one time a woman ambassador, a woman governor and woman cabinet minister. I would far rather that we had adequate staffs of women nurses in every hospital where our folks die in thousands. It should be remembered to the credit of Britain that the three famous ladies referred to, like the Mahatma and Mr. Nehru, were all products of British education.

As for the British being largely responsible for the persistence of social evils I would recall the fact that the greatest patriots of India, amongst them Gokhale, Ranade, Dadabhai, Naoroji, Lajpat Rai, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, invariably held that if one thing more than another helped to break down the social barriers in India it was British rule.

India must not be deceived or consoled by the theories Sir C. P. deduced from the tangled skein of India's pre-historic history. The stern duty before her is to take stock of the appalling social imperfections existing in the 750,000 villages that constitute the real India, where her millions have lived for ages under Indian *pancayats*. In these villages the social evils complained of are still rampant notwithstanding the legislation against them passed by the Parliament of independent India. What is lacking to make these laws effective is a change of heart.

LORD TWEEDSMUIR ON ASIAN PROBLEMS

LORD TWEEDSMUIR was the chief guest at an informal evening party given by the East India Association on November 3, 1950, for students from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and a few contemporary British students at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The Burmese Ambassador was also present. The Chairman, Sir John Woodhead, welcomed Lord Tweedsmuir on behalf of the Council and spoke of his varied and distinguished career.

LORD TWEEDSMUIR expressed his pleasure at being invited to speak and regretted that Lady Tweedsmuir could not be present as she had long-standing engagements in Aberdeen that evening. He said that during his life he had been fortunate to see many parts of the Commonwealth, having been born in this part of the Commonwealth and served in the Canadian Army during the recent war; and he would be leaving for Central Africa in a few days. Unfortunately, however, he had never had the opportunity of visiting India, Pakistan, or Ceylon. During the war he had fought alongside troops from those countries, who were part of the 8th Army in Italy, and he had been very deeply impressed by their outstanding valour, good humour, and constant cheerfulness. He recollected most vividly that their every prayer ended with an invocation for peace. It was also a matter of great satisfaction to him that though he had no direct links with south-east Asia, his great friend Lord Soulsbury had been appointed the first Governor-General of Ceylon. Lord Tweedsmuir made a brief reference to his father, John Buchan, the first holder of the title, who had met and had long conversations with such great men as Cecil Rhodes, Mahatma Gandhi, and Jan Smuts, thus strengthening the links which he (the speaker) now had with the Commonwealth countries.

During his lifetime, said Lord Tweedsmuir, democracy had spread and embraced the earth, but we must not fall into the error of thinking that progress was a law of nature. It was an aim for which we must strive and plan. The first world war had taught us that Europe had ceased to be the maker and "unmaker" of the destiny of nations. After twenty years of an uneasy peace a second world war had further destroyed many illusions on the subject. There was no longer any strength in neutrality or geographical position, and one of the weaknesses of a democracy, he felt, was that they preferred present comfort to ultimate security.

The tendency in the world to-day was to find security in groupings, the largest and strongest of which was the United Nations. Another such group was the Commonwealth of Nations: of which India, Pakistan and Ceylon were members. In the Commonwealth a most remarkable system of co-operation had been built through the stages of dependence,

independence, and now interdependence. Individually the member countries could easily be broken : but collectively they were a united front, strong and resilient.

Lord Tweedsmuir referred to the 'aggressive action of Communist countries in the Far East, South-East, and Central Asia. In order to counter this Communist creed, which rebelled against and attacked all forms of established civilization, there had been evolved, for south-east Asia, the "Spender Plan," which aimed at removing the conditions which bred this destructive Communistic faith and establishing a higher standard of living in the countries concerned.

In the last four years we had seen the emergence of three new independent Asian powers—India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. In all three countries the government, the law, and the military machine had been based on western patterns. The leaders were now faced with the colossal task of "easternizing" them and bringing them into line with their own civilization and culture. A very great responsibility faced the leaders in those countries : but they could be assured that all the help they may need, or for which they should ask, would be afforded them by their fellow members in the Commonwealth of Nations. If we could spread and strengthen this system of co-operation built up within the Commonwealth ; if we all stood together then, as we all hoped and prayed, the free world would survive.

Lord Tweedsmuir answered a number of questions arising from his address, which his audience had followed with close attention.

THE ANNUAL RECEPTION OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

APART from a few words of welcome from the President, Lord Scarbrough, there were no speeches at the annual reception of the Association held at the Imperial Institute on the afternoon of October 18. In the unavoidable absence of Lady Scarbrough, the President was assisted in receiving the 250 members and their guests by Marie Marchioness of Willingdon and Sir John Woodhead, Chairman of the Council. Entertainment was provided in the cinema hall by the showing of a documentary film on life in Malaya, and by the much appreciated and unaccompanied Indian violin solo of Mr. N. Razdan, who gave to the performance the right Indian atmosphere by being seated on the ground. The reception, with its rather greater opportunities for social contacts than when speeches are made, was much enjoyed, and the spacious gallery did not empty until nearly 6 o'clock.

THE NEW DISPENSATION IN SOUTH INDIA*

By A. A. HAYLES, Editor of the *Madras Mail*

MY HEARERS will not wish me at this stage, three years after the inauguration of Indian Independence and many months after the completion of the new Constitution, to spend time in describing the new legislature and administrative machinery which both have created, and are still creating, for South India. The new Constitution best illustrates the fluid character of Indian constitutional and political conditions. Its preamble envisages a federal Republic in which every individual shall enjoy certain fundamental rights. Its concluding sections presume the existence of a Union State, with a Centre possessing powers over all the constituent states, and severely limits the freedoms which individuals are to enjoy. My remarks do not cover the mechanism of these changes save in so far as they affect the status and autonomy of the States of Southern India.

That the concluding sections, and the general form of the Constitution as finally shaped do depart from the vision of the framers of the preamble is evident to all who live in India, especially South India. They know that the autonomy which they expected the constituent States to enjoy is now severely circumscribed. They know, for instance, that it is impossible for Madras to import grain to feed its very hungry millions in the informally rationed, and for that matter, the statutorily rationed areas. Madras State cannot import grain direct because the Centre has the monopoly of such imports, and has put an embargo on independent State Foreign Trading. That the authority of the Centre seems to be less effective in some States than in others, that the internal procurement of grain is, therefore, less effective in some States than in others does not alter the fact.

Political expediency, it seems, counsels the Government of India to deal more lightly with some States than with others, to permit procurement of grain to be less efficient in surplus States than in deficit States, the menace of popular discontent being, it would seem, held by the Centre to be sufficiently effective in compelling efficient—in Madras extremely drastic—measures to take from the cultivator all surplus grain. But to revert to the relations of the Centre with the Southern States, it becomes increasingly evident that in all branches of nation-building activity, which were originally intended to be the sole concern of the constituent States, the Central Government has been given, and is increasingly acquiring by legislation passed by a submissive majority in the Indian Parliament,

* Lecture at joint meeting with the Overseas League on November 30, 1950

power to intervene, and also to override, the authority of the constituent States.

PROHIBITION IN MADRAS

We see this most markedly in the activities of the Planning Commission, and in the plans drawn up by the Central Education, Agriculture, Public Health, Industry and other nation-building departments. The States are expected to accept these plans, and to incorporate them in their own respective programmes of development. If they object, as some States have done, then the Centre threatens to withhold grants in aid. On the plea of securing uniformity all round, of equal development, the Centre imposes its will upon the constituent States, and these, with one or two exceptions, submit more or less willingly. Their Governments being drawn from the one effective political party, the Indian National Congress, are fearful of the possible actions of the Party hierarchy.

Madras is one of the States whose Government has dared to differ from the Central Government and the Party hierarchy.

The most striking manifestation of this difference of view was the early adoption of State-wide prohibition, i.e., the banning of alcoholic liquor for all Indians save those obtaining a medical certificate stating that its consumption was necessary to their retaining good health. Such certificates are extremely difficult to obtain and the amount of liquor allowed to the possessors thereof is strictly limited. Hitherto Europeans (a term which comprehends most Westerners) have been able to secure permits for the consumption of limited quantities of alcoholic liquor per month, the average amount being four bottles of spirit, eight bottles of wine, or 24 pints of beer—it would be difficult to go to excess when thus regulated. Whether Europeans will continue to enjoy this privilege will depend upon the result of a case which is, I believe, still pending in the High Court of Madras. The United States of Travancore and Cochin has followed the example of Madras and introduced State-wide prohibition. Mysore has not. It is following the more cautious, and in my opinion wiser, policy of gradual extension of prohibition, introducing it into neighbouring districts, and watching results. Madras achieved total prohibition throughout the State in less than five years. Mysore proposes to take longer.

CONSEQUENCES OF PROHIBITION

I have dwelt at length on the introduction of prohibition because this single factor has governed all subsequent Madras Government policies and activities. It has involved the loss of Rs. 17½ crores of Government

revenue annually and both directly and indirectly compelled the curtailment of all nation-building activities within the State. It has compelled the State Government to increase taxation all round, notably the purchase tax, which is a tax imposed at each point of sale of taxed articles. As these include textiles—the people's clothing—and food and other necessities, the total incidence is higher than the relatively low percentage at which it is fixed. Where, as in the case of cloth, the taxed article passes through many hands on its way from the manufacturer to the consumer, the tax on the latter is, in effect, five or six times the statutory percentage because the law allows the tax to be passed on to the consumer, and the process of passing on is necessarily cumulative. In other cases, such as motor-cars and cycles, the tax paid by the consumer reaches a formidable figure.

THE PURCHASE TAX SUBSTITUTE

The total revenue from the purchase tax was estimated to be over Rs. 18 crores, but the Madras Finance Minister looks for a total of Rs. 20 crores in the current financial year. As this tax was introduced in 1937 by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, then Premier of Madras, to make good the loss of revenue caused by the introduction of prohibition in the district of Salem in the Province of Madras, it may be said that it is amply fulfilling its purpose. But the present Finance Minister does not limit its usefulness to the replacement of lost excise revenue. He regards the purchase tax as the basis of the State's revenue structure, and has proposed increases in its incidence on certain goods in order to ensure that it shall be so.

Critics of prohibition point out that the purchase tax has spread over the whole population a tax burden which, in pre-prohibition days, was limited to a relatively small percentage of the people, about 5 per cent—the drinking of alcoholic liquor was never widespread in the State—and, by taxing food, imposes an unjustifiable burden on the very poor. The new Constitution recognizes the force of this argument in-so-far as it effects basic foods, and has made the levy thereof illegal. This will compel a revision of the application of the Madras purchase tax, and a loss of revenue which, the Finance Minister has hinted, will be made up by the levy of new taxes—possibly of an agricultural income-tax, though such an impost is not popular among South Indian Congressmen.

Opponents of prohibition also contend that its State-wide application has not only led to a remarkable increase in illicit distillation of arrack, *sonti sorru*—rice spirit—and similar decoctions containing alcohol (some have reported that illicit distillation has become a cottage industry in

certain parts of the State, and is common in the capital). It has prevented the expansion of important nation-building activities, such as education, public health, agricultural improvement, irrigation, hydro-electricity supplies, the improvement of communications, and the encouragement of cottage and other industries.

The Chief Minister of Madras and his colleagues deny this. They argue that since the revenue from the purchase tax has more than made good the loss of excise revenue resulting from the introduction of prohibition, the State is making great progress in each nation-building department. The Chief Minister in a message to *The Mail* on August 15 last said : "The introduction of prohibition has brought light and cheer to thousands of families, and has, in fact, made homes of hovels . . . There is no doubt that the introduction of prohibition has toned up our society in general."

VIEWS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Neither the Chief Minister nor his colleagues are induced to change their opinion by the increase of anti-prohibition crime, or by the fact that the State's prisons cannot contain the many who have been, and are being, convicted of crimes under the Prohibition Act. And they have supporters among missionaries and others who refuse to see in the increase of illicit distillation and bootlegging anything more than a passing phase. And the Madras Government's attitude in this matter is also that of other State Governments in South India where prohibition is in force, or is being gradually introduced. The Central Government, however, takes a less biased view. It thinks that such costly experiments of a socio-political character should be deferred until the finances of the States and the Union are more firmly established, and show a greater tendency to increase than they do at present. And many independent observers believe that had not prohibition figured so long in the Congress Party programme, its implementation in the present critical period of the life of the new Union would have been less strenuously pursued in the South—the North has been far less hasty.

FOOD RATIONING PROBLEM

The State Governments cannot be held wholly responsible for the sufferings of the people of South India resulting from the absence of adequate supplies of grain during the past twelve months. Three successive failures of the monsoon, coupled with the Central Government's resolve to reduce grain imports this year, led to a state of near-famine in the whole of South India during the period July-November this

year. Our investigations showed that many villages were without grain for days on end, and that rarely did the daily ration in deficit areas exceed 2 or 3 ounces daily. The United States of Travancore and Cochin was, at one time wholly without rice and similar cereals. The revelations of *The Mail's* investigators, who showed that villagers and their children were subsisting on the pith of prickly pear, aloes, tamarind seeds, roots, and the bark of trees, compelled the Governments, Central and State, to adopt more liberal grain policies; but even to-day the daily ration of rice—the people's natural food—is only 6 ounces even in statutorily-rationed areas, for whose grain supply the Government are wholly responsible, and in the informally rationed areas, it rarely reaches 4 ounces in deficit areas. So ruthless is the procurement policy that even in surplus areas it is rarely that the agricultural labourer gets a full daily ration of 12 ounces of rice.

The official grain ration in statutorily-rationed areas is 12 ounces, the total being made up of 6 ounces of rice, some wheat, millet, semolina, maize, maize flour, or wheat flour in such proportions as the available supplies make possible. Often the 12 ounces ration is reduced to 10 ounces or less by the shortage of supplies, and in informally-rationed areas, the average villager in deficit areas is lucky if he gets a total grain ration of 6 ounces even to-day. Nor is the position much better in surplus areas for the grain procurement policy of the Governments leaves little more than the farmer requires for himself and his family, and frequently his labour is called for to seek supplies as and when it can, the payment of wages in grain being discouraged. The hardships and privations of the people of South India this year are proof of the folly of pronouncing grain policies aiming at self-sufficiency before the conditions justify them.

Had the Government's majority in the Union Parliament, and the Party's majorities in the South Indian States Legislatures been less submissive to the Party Whip, the hardships of the people might have been ameliorated by the adoption of a more liberal grain import policy. Non-officials and Opposition members, and one or two of the more daring of the majority Party insisted that more rice should be imported from Burma, but their demands were rejected, their information disbelieved—though supported by the Burma Marketing Board—their arguments discredited. The policy of self-sufficiency was deemed of paramount importance. The champions of the people were dismissed as folk engaging in political stunts, as exploiting scarcity conditions for sectional purposes.

The Chief Minister of Madras points to the Firka development scheme through the implementation of which his Government aim to improve

the condition of villagers in certain designated areas. But critics point out that this scheme is being pushed through at the cost of other rural areas, whose improvement is delayed and neglected, and is confined to putting into operation the socio-political experiments which have long figured in the majority Party programme, such as the compulsory production and wearing of khaddar—a coarse cloth made of hand-spun thread—and other cottage industries outlined in various Congress Party plans for village self-sufficiency, many of which ignore modern industrial developments, and would have villagers revert to old and relatively inefficient production methods.

Happily, however, with the growing realization that India cannot afford to lag behind other countries, especially other Asiatic countries, in industrial development, there has been a welcome modification of the Firka development plans to permit the sale of mill-made cloth in the designated areas, and a turning of Firka development activity into the paths of improved communications and village water supplies. More important, from the point of view of rural progress, will be the increase in the quantum of village self-government made possible by the passing of a new Village Panchayat Act. This may lead at first to a strengthening of Congress Party influence, and even to an increase of faction strife in villages, but it should, in the long run, give a fillip to village improvement, and encourage villagers to take a lively interest in the bettering of their surroundings. Where enthusiastic leadership has been manifested, leadership of the right sort and wisely inspired, much has been achieved in this direction, as we were able to show in a review of the third year of Indian independence, which we published on August 15: Unfortunately, non-official inspiration for such improvement is rare, and officials are too busy to supply it. Village India owes much to disinterested Missionary effort.

MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

The Chief Minister points to the fact that Rs. 9½ crores are being spent on education as against Rs. 3½ crores in 1944-45 to prove that his Government is not unmindful of nation-building needs, and is providing finance to meet them. But his figures are more illustrative of the rising cost of living than of the expansion of education—and the same is true of other South Indian States. It would be no exaggeration to say that Rs. 4 crores of the Rs. 6 crores increase in expenditure on education represents concessions to teachers and managements to meet the extra cost of living and similar higher charges. Aided education, which provides South India with most of its elementary, secondary and high schools, and many of its colleges, is actively discouraged by the passing of hostile legislation, and

by pettifogging administrative requirements and rules. The Bill, which makes it possible for the Government of Madras to acquire educational institutions from Missions and similar agencies on various pretexts, has greatly discouraged aided education. That new schools, and colleges, are still being opened by Missions is a tribute to their fidelity to the ideals and their belief in their mission. Here again recent weeks have seen a welcome moderation of the more drastic aspects of official policy, but the offensive measures and rules, such as that requiring endowments from old-established educational agencies, and the persecution of outspoken educational critics of official education policy, remains.

IRRIGATION AND ELECTRICAL PLANS

The most hopeful form of Government activity in South India is the development in all South Indian States of irrigation, and of hydro and thermal electricity production projects. Much has already been achieved in Madras, and much more is planned, but lack of finance is slowing up development, delaying the initiation of schemes, and, consequently, arresting the progress of the State Government's own plans for the development of industry and agriculture. Until quite recently, the State Governments seemed to be interested solely in village and cottage industries, but of late they are reflecting in their conduct the lively concern of the Central Government for the development of bigger and basic industries, especially that concerned with textiles.

AN ANDHRA AMBITION

It would be wrong to conclude this hurried survey of the present dispensation in South India without an allusion to the failure of the Andhras, the Telugu speaking people of South India, to achieve their ambition, namely the formation of an Andhra State. This failure was due to the development of faction among Andhras, the jealousies of leaders, and the growing disapproval of linguistic divisions in the majority Party hierarchy. For though the Congress Party organization is itself based on linguistic provinces, the principal leaders of that Party have not disguised their present conviction that the Union division on those principles would menace the unity of India, and encourage disruptive tendencies. Hence the Party hierarchy's insistence upon unanimity among Andhras, and their abdication of all title to the city of Madras. This insistence was manifested through the principal members of the Central Government. They were conditions which the Centre must have known could not,

with good grace or any saving of face, be accepted by the leaders in Andhradesa. The fact that the then Congress Party president was not opposed to the conditions did not, in fact, alter the situation. Andhra leaders could not have retained their leadership if they had accepted, without protest, the conditions insisted upon.

The Andhras, indeed, presented a sad spectacle of factious disunity, the product of conflicting personal ambitions. The state of Andhradesa politics in August 1947 reminds one of Dr. Salazar's description of his country in May 1926. Of Portugal he wrote: "the parties had degenerated into cliques based on personal interest which one after another had battered on the public resources." So Andhradesa was not created a separate State, and remains linked, unwillingly, to the State of Madras. Sooner or later they must, and will, be divided. Let us pray that the separation may be effected before "vile and bloody confusion" develops. Andhradesa has suffered severely during the past three years from the cruel activities of Communist terrorists. To-day that peril is diminished thanks to the resolute action of the Madras police, backed by a firm Government policy. But despite their tribulations, the Andhras still clamour to be masters in their own house. Though at present a house divided against itself, its saner leaders think Andhradesa will yet attain autonomy—or such measure of it as the constitution allows to other constituent States.

AGRARIAN UNREST

Meanwhile all Madras, Andhradesa, Tamilnad, Malabar, and the Kanarese Districts are concerned about the growing agrarian unrest. Instead of producing the contentment it hoped to develop, the Madras State Government has, through its various land tenure measures created uncertainty and distrust among landholders great and small. And remember that there are 65,000 odd pattadars in the State. The abolition of the zemindaris has failed to produce the results the ryots desired. They find that they changed one lot of masters for others, and these less accommodating where land revenue, rents, and loans are concerned than their predecessors. The jemnis of the West Coast find themselves deprived of all semblance of ownership, and without rights. The mirasadars of Tanjore are similarly threatened, and ryots who hold more than 50 acres are in like peril. The perilous slogan "the land for the cultivator" is being used to inflame the illiterate masses of agricultural workers. Anti-social and subversive elements, whose only aim is to create chaos, exploit the resultant discontent. The politician is in the ascendant. The Party

boss is the king-maker. To him Governments defer—we have had three separate Congress Governments in three years in Madras State but the king-maker remains one and the same. The United States of Travancore and Cochin is in little better state. Political sufferers—Congressmen who went to prison—alone count. To them land and ministerial office is given.

A ROBUST FAITH

The growing intrusion of politics into the administration, the hopelessness created by the increasing power of executive authority, the denial of all appeal to the courts in recent legislation, and the growth of totalitarian tendencies in the Centre and the States, dismays older and wiser politicians who have lived, as I have, under four constitutions. Yet their faith in the future of India is as robust as ever. They believe that the innate moderation and good sense of her people will prevail, that present difficulties will be surmounted, and current fears be discounted by future developments. In that faith I share, and sharing it I propose to return to India there to play, I hope, some part in the fulfilment of the the ideals and aspirations of the people of South India, to secure justice for the under-privileged, the industrial development of a great land, and the furtherance of India's interests in a world which, hitherto, has scarcely troubled to understand her, or to consider her needs.

KASHMIR—A SOVEREIGN STATE*

By Sir GODFREY DAVIS.

LATELY CHIEF JUDGE, SIND CHIEF COURT

A LETTER from Sir Hugh Garrett and myself on the Kashmir problem was published in *The Times* of November 10 last. Like many others who have spent long years in what is now India and Pakistan, and who have great respect and affection for the people of those countries, we are distressed by the continuance of the Kashmir dispute. It embitters relations between them, and their armies have faced each other for two years across a cease-fire line. By imposing upon the peoples heavy military expenditure this state of affairs adds greatly to the burdens they bear. So, when Sir Frank Brown asked me to give a lecture on this problem I replied that I would be prepared to open a discussion. It is being held when the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth are in Conference in London.

* Read at a joint meeting with the Overseas League on January 9, 1951, in opening a discussion, with Lieut.-Col. Sir Geoffrey Betham, K.B.E., C.I.F., M.C., in the chair.

The letter to which I have referred was in advocacy of settling the Kashmir problem by making the country a technically independent state. We suggested that the Constitution could be formed provisionally on principles appropriate to the circumstances of the people of Kashmir, and fair to both her neighbours, with whom she would have treaty relations. If difficulties arose in finding terms acceptable both to India and Pakistan, the treaty would be with the United Nations.

We had not then read a letter contributed to *The Times* a month earlier (October 10) by a Kashmiri gentleman, Mr. B. Zutshi, which contained much the same proposal as our own. I hope that Mr. Zutshi will take part in this afternoon's discussion, as he can speak from the standpoint of a Kashmiri.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is said there is no escape from history, and Kashmir in her long history has had both Hindu and Muhammedan connexions. That history reaches back into the legendary past, and down to the time of the incorporation of Kashmir in 1588 in the dominions of the Mogul Emperor, is recorded in four Sanskrit books, of which the first, and perhaps the most famous, is the *Rajatarangini*. In this it is stated that the valley of Kashmir was formerly a lake; it was drained by the great *rishi* or sage, Kasyapa, son of Marichi, son of Brahma, by cutting the gap in the hills at Baramulla through which, I imagine, many of those present have travelled on the road to Srinagar. After Kashmir had been drained Kasyapa brought in the Brahmans to occupy it. Hindu kings continued to reign almost to the end of the thirteenth century when, about 1294, the last of them was put to death by his Muhammedan Wazir who ascended the throne. Muhammedan kings, one of whom made submission and paid tribute to Timur on his invasion of India, ruled Kashmir until in 1588 it was incorporated in the dominions of Akbar. Kashmir fell into the hands of Ahmad Shah Durani on his third invasion of India in 1756, and it remained under Afghan control till Ranjit Singh, the great Sikh monarch of the Punjab took possession in 1819. It passed to the British after the battle of Sobraon in February, 1846.

FOR A CASH PAYMENT

Ranjit Singh had raised from a humble position to high office one Gulab Singh, a Dogra Rajput, and had bestowed on him the principality of Jammu. It was to this Gulab Singh that in 1846 Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General of India, made over Kashmir for a cash payment and in consideration of his services in the cause of peace. Gulab Singh

was recognized by treaty as the independent sovereign of Kashmir. Gulab Singh had already conquered Ladakh, a Buddhist country subject to Lhasa, and he annexed Skardo which was under independent Mohammedan rule. The kingdom of Gulab Singh attained nearly the form and extent of the Jammu and Kashmir State as it existed to August 15, 1947. Gulab Singh died in 1857 and was succeeded by his son, Ranbir Singh, who was followed in 1885 by the Maharaja Partag Singh who re-asserted Kashmir's sovereignty over Gilgit. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh succeeded to the *gadi* in 1925 and it was he who, on October 26th, 1947, executed an instrument of accession to the Indian Union, the validity of which the Government of Pakistan disputes.

THE APPEAL TO UNITED NATIONS

On January 1, 1948, the Indian Union lodged with the United Nations a complaint calling attention to the existence of a dispute between herself and Pakistan likely to endanger international peace and security. She alleged the invasion of the territories of Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan nationals and by N.W. Frontier tribesmen who had been aided by the Pakistan Government. India claimed the validity of the accession to her of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The Government of Pakistan replied denying both such validity and that she was giving aid to any invaders of Kashmir, but conceding that a number of independent tribesmen and Pakistan nationals had gone voluntarily to the help of the Azad or Free Kashmir Government, and asking for appropriate measures to settle the dispute and restore friendly relations. The Security Council appointed a Commission of five to ascertain the facts and mediate a settlement between the two parties to the dispute. While they spoke of a free, fair and democratic plebiscite, the people of Kashmir were given no third option to vote for their own freedom and sovereignty.

“DISPOSED OF”

The purpose of the proposed plebiscite has all along been to decide whether Kashmir shall accede to India or Pakistan. After many months of devoted labours, the Commission had to report on December 5, 1949, failure except on one important matter, namely a cease-fire agreement. In the intervening two years this agreement has been generally respected.

The Commission was succeeded by Sir Owen Dixon as mediator. After devoted efforts he too had to report failure, having considered partition in its different aspects. It was still the question of accession to either India or Pakistan which dominated the discussions. The view that

Kashmir might desire to be free, as India and Pakistan are now free, does not appear to have been sufficiently considered. Sir Owen Dixon, near the end of his Report, dated September 15, 1950, says that he himself was not prepared to recommend any further course of action on the part of the Security Council for the purpose of assisting the parties to settle between them how the State of Jammu and Kashmir was to be disposed of. "Disposed of," is the phrase used.

THE MEDIATING COMMISSION

To go back chronologically ; on January 20, 1948, the Security Council established a Commission of three members to investigate the facts and to mediate. The nominations were—Czechoslovakia by India, the Argentine by Pakistan, and the United States by the President of the Council. On April 21 the Security Council decided to increase the membership to five, a representative of Belgium and of Columbia being elected. On June 3, the Security Council directed the Commission to proceed forthwith to the area of dispute. When the Commission arrived in India in early July, they found events had passed them by. The regular forces of Pakistan, not mere tribesmen, were participating in the fighting in the State ; the Azad movement was, in fact, a revolt against the Government of the State, in part successful.

Two resolutions of the Commission aroused hopes that the dispute would be peacefully settled. One dated August 13, was divided into three parts. The first dealt with the cessation of hostilities ; the second with a truce, providing for the gradual withdrawal of armed forces so that the people might be free to vote without fear or favour for accession to India or Pakistan ; and the third part with the plebiscite itself. Failing to obtain agreement on the proposals as they stood, the Commission made supplementary proposals, and these both Governments accepted.

On January 5, 1949, the Commission passed another resolution embodying the agreement which it was now believed had been agreed and actually providing for the appointment of a plebiscite Administrator. The "free and impartial plebiscite" was to be conditional on a cease-fire, in fact existing and on the implementing of the truce proposals, whereby it was hoped the conditions necessary for such a plebiscite would be obtained. This hope was not fulfilled and Sir Owen Dixon in his report of September, 1950, wrote:-

The situation as I found it presented strange features. The parties had agreed that the fate of the State as a whole should be settled by a general plebiscite but over a considerable period of time they have failed to agree on any of the preliminary measures which it was clearly necessary to take before it was possible to set up an organization to take a plebiscite.

THE CEASE FIRE

In the important matter of the cessation of hostilities, the efforts of the Commission were successful. One minute before midnight on January 1, 1949, the fighting ceased. In July a cease fire line was agreed upon, was marked out on the ground and has since then been generally respected. In the matter of the plebiscite the Commission failed. In all the Commission held 287 meetings. In their third report dated December 5, 1949, the Commission sets out what it considered the principal causes of this failure and the means taken to achieve success. The words of the Report appear to me to show the aim of future efforts must be changed if the dispute is to be settled. The Commission wrote :

By now it will have been seen that the three principal issues have emerged in clear focus. These issues may be referred to as the withdrawal of forces, the question of the Azad forces and the question of the northern area. They must be solved before the two Governments can find themselves able to agree to proceed towards a final settlement of the dispute. The first two issues are closely interrelated. The third issue is rather more independent. These issues have become fundamentals in the dispute between India and Pakistan over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The attitudes of both Governments regarding them stems from the premises which form the basis of their cases.

These premises, the Commission explained, in the case of India, are that she is in Kashmir of right in law by virtue of the accession of the State to India, and that Pakistan, as an aggressor, is entitled in no way to a balance of military power in the State or to an equal status in the dispute. The Pakistan case is that the act of accession was brought about by force and fraud, that the Azad movement was a spontaneous revolt against oppression and misrule, and Pakistan contended that she is entitled to a balance of military force in the State and that her case for being in Kashmir is better grounded than that of India.

FINAL OBJECTIVE NOT REACHED

The map shows the cease fire line marked in red. The western area is to the left ; here it is believed the Azad forces, numbering 32 battalions, well equipped and officered, with the help of Pakistan, command the territory. Also the northern area sparsely inhabited and mountainous, shown in the map above the cease fire line has, it is believed, been brought under the effective control of the Pakistan High Command. Of the means they employed the Commission wrote :

In endeavouring to assist the Government of India and Pakistan to carry out their commitments . . . and mindful of its character as a body of good offices and mediation, the Commission employed various procedures. On different occasions during the past year it engaged in separate negotiations ; it requested the two Governments to submit their own proposals. It submitted to both parties on its own initiative compromise formulas. On numerous occasions it sent delegations to confer with both Governments. It entrusted its Sub-Committees with specialized tasks. The Commission also invited both Governments to joint meetings of military representatives as well as representatives of Cabinet rank. Finally it suggested arbitration of those differences which existed concerning the implementation of Part 2 of the 13th August resolution, the provisions relating to the Truce.

Good will and devotion, I think you will agree, could do no more. It is true that the Commission failed in its final objective, but the devoted labours of the members must still be an asset to the cause of peace. The Commission finally suggested that the designation of a single person with broad authority and undivided responsibility offered a more practical means of finding the balance and compromise necessary to advance the settlement of the dispute. The Commission also suggested further consideration should be given to the procedure of arbitration.

THE DIXON MEDIATION

Acting, therefore, upon the suggestion of their own Commission the Security Council on March 14, 1950, named Sir Owen Dixon as the appropriate individual to continue the endeavour, in the cause of peace, to settle the dispute. Distinguished and able as he was, devoted and strenuous as were his endeavours, he failed. It will serve no useful purpose to consider in detail the reasons of his failure. Briefly, he was unable to get the two Governments to agree to conditions which he considered necessary to secure that the plebiscite should be free and fair. The presence of numbers of troops, armed militia and police in the Valley of Kashmir did not appear to him favourable to a free expression of the peoples' will. Mr. Nehru concurred in the view that no hope existed of an agreement for a plebiscite by which the fate of the Valley could be decided. No other acceptable expedient for disposing of the Valley could be suggested. Sir Owen Dixon had considered partition : he also studied the question of an over-all plebiscite (and/or plebiscites in limited areas) but in neither case did he consider he could obtain conditions which would be fair to the United Nations under whose auspices the plebiscite would be held or to the people themselves. So on August 23, 1950, he left Karachi after being in India, Pakistan and Kashmir three months.

It seems to me, then, that we must accept the position that the conditions necessary for a free and fair plebiscite cannot be obtained, and that hence the question of accession to India or Pakistan cannot be decided by that means. Nor can the claims of Pakistan and India on a third party, Kashmir, be reconciled. Some course, then, must be suggested which has the advantage that it places the welfare of the people of Kashmir first.

AN INDEPENDENT KASHMIR

It is suggested, therefore, that Kashmir, with the blessing of her two great neighbours, and with their active encouragement and help, should be permitted to claim for herself a sovereign status. This should not

apply, in her own interests, to foreign relations and defence, which should be the final responsibility of India and Pakistan, under the aegis of the United Nations, bound each in treaty to Kashmir and to each other. As it is not possible to hold a fair plebiscite no plebiscite should be held : as new boundaries cannot be defined the old boundaries should remain and the State of Jammu and Kashmir, under constitutional government, should enter into a separate treaty with India and Pakistan as Gulab Singh entered into a treaty with the British more than a hundred years ago.

Mr. B. Zutshi has given me a copy of a resolution recently passed by the general council of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. In the last clause the convening of a constituent assembly, based on adult suffrage, is recommended to embrace all sections of the people, exercise its sovereign powers and determine the future government of the State. It is plain that the general council inclines towards India, looking on Pakistan as an aggressor, but against that must be set the fact that for about a hundred years the Government of Kashmir, with all its faults, has maintained the integrity of its frontiers, and has saved the people from the havoc of war and looting by the tribesmen. It is pointed out that "a struggle for freedom" began before the partition of the sub-continent in 1947. It was carried on against the government of the Hindu Maharaja. This movement then may, I think, be acquitted of a religious bias. Indeed none who knows anything about the Muhammedan trader of Srinagar or the Muhammedan peasant of the Kashmir Valley, or the tribesmen from the wild country of the mountains, can feel that the tie of religion is in all circumstances all sufficient. Nor can it be right to hold that any Muhammedan who works in friendship with a Hindu is thereby a renegade.

THE ABDULLA GOVERNMENT

It may be necessary to regard the present government of Sheikh Abdulla as the nucleus of a provisional government which, with the mutual consent and support of India and Pakistan can be gradually enlarged in its constitution, in its territories and its jurisdictions to cover what was, before the partition of 1947, the State of Jammu and Kashmir. I hold no brief for Sheikh Abdulla or his Government. I do not know him but his record does not appear to show that he is likely to be the creature of sectional or communal interests. It was Sheikh Abdulla who first founded the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference of which he became first President in 1931. Seven years later under his influence, it ceased to be communal and became the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, with membership thrown open to all. In 1946,

Sheikh Abdulla was imprisoned for the ninth time on political grounds. He has with him as deputy Prime Minister, a Muhammedan, Ghulam Muhammed Bakshi, who has been imprisoned four times. Of his Cabinet of eight, five are Muhammedans, three are Hindus, one of whom was charged with treason under the old régime. The fact that Muhammedans and Hindus have worked together for the greater freedom of their country cannot be held against them. Perhaps it may be Kashmir's destiny to lead the sub-continent along the path of unity and co-operation, and there may be emblazoned on the banner of a free Kashmir that noblest of all greetings, "Peace be with you. On you be Peace."

THE OBJECTS AND POLICY OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION (INDIA, PAKISTAN AND BURMA)

IN 1866, eight years after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, the East India Association was formed with the object of "the promotion of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally." This object was steadfastly pursued during the ensuing eighty-one years. The Independence of India and Pakistan attained in 1947, while modifying the original conception, has increased the need for strengthening the bonds of friendship and the importance of mutual understanding between the people of Britain and the inhabitants of the countries formerly comprising the India Empire—namely, India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. The Association therefore looks forward to the continuance of its work, with the assistance of all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of these countries, by the methods which have proved so helpful in the past, namely :

1. By lectures on current questions affecting those countries and publication of the same.
2. By providing opportunities for the free discussion of important questions affecting India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma.
3. By promoting friendly contact between the peoples of these countries and of Britain through the medium of social and other gatherings.
4. Generally by the promulgation of reliable information regarding the countries named.

The Association is essentially non-official in character and has no connexion with any political party. It seeks to provide an open platform for the consideration of current problems relating to India, Pakistan, the States and Burma. It welcomes as members all those who are interested in their welfare and progress.

Papers are read and discussed throughout the year, except in the months of August and September. Members are entitled to invite friends to these meetings.

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Members receive the ASIATIC REVIEW each quarter, free, by post.

KOREA AFTER WORLD WAR II*

By Dr. CHEN YAO-SHENG

(continued)

IMMEDIATELY after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, exiled Koreans voiced their wish for independence. Their efforts, however, elicited no more than expressions of sympathy and encouragement from various officials. The first genuine commitment concerning Korea was made at the Cairo Conference in December 1943, when Great Britain, China and the United States determined that in due course Korea should become free and independent. Russia, at that time, had not entered the war with Japan but her attitude towards Korea was similar to that of the other Allies. Later, at the Yalta Conference, the United States presented the view that Korea should be a multi-power trusteeship under the United Nations, and this view was later confirmed after the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations.

The Potsdam Declaration of July, 1945, setting out the terms of Japan's surrender, reaffirmed the Cairo Declaration, and consequent on Russia's declaration of war on Japan, she expressed her adherence to the Potsdam Declaration. Before the plan for Korean independence could be implemented, however, military operations in separate zones of the country had already become accomplished facts with the entry of Russian troops into North Korea on August 8 and American troops on September 8, 1945. In order to overcome the damaging consequences of this division of the country and to formulate plans for its future, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and Russia met at Moscow in December, 1945, and reached an agreement to which China subsequently adhered. This agreement came to be accepted as the basic document governing the future development of independent Korea. Its main points were to convene a joint commission to be formed by the United States and Russian Commands in Korea, to consult with Korean democratic parties and social organizations, to assist in the formation of a provisional democratic government and to establish the national independence of Korea. The joint commission were to submit their proposals, following consultations with the provisional government, for the consideration of the Four Powers to enable them to work out an agreement for a Four Power Trusteeship of Korea for a period of five years.

In accordance with the Moscow Agreement, a conference was held in January 1946, between the American and Russian commands for the

★ Lecture delivered at the China Institute, London

purpose of arranging for co-ordination on administrative and economic matters between their respective zones but the conference was unsuccessful.

On March 20, 1946, a meeting of the Russian and American Joint Commission was convened but after considerable discussion as to the procedure to be followed in consulting with Korean democratic parties, a deadlock was reached and the Commission adjourned *sine die*. The Americans refused to agree to the Russian view that all parties who opposed the terms of the Moscow agreement should be excluded and Russia was unable to accept the American view that all political parties be consulted. After a year of fruitless negotiation, the second meeting of the Joint Commission met on May 21, 1947. The Commission again failed to reach agreement in particular regarding consultation of democratic parties ; restriction of freedom of speech and opinion ; and formation of provisional government.

An attempt was made by Mr. Marshall to resume the Commission in the middle of August 1947, but his proposals were not acceptable to Mr. Molotov. On August 29 Mr. Marshall further suggested that the question be referred to a special conference of the Four Powers and proposed that a conference be convened on September 6 in Washington. Russia again refused this proposal. The United States, convinced that attempt to reach agreement on the basis of the Moscow agreement was impossible, therefore presented the problem of Korean independence to the United Nations General Assembly on September 17, 1947. The Assembly, despite the opposition of Russia and her satellite countries, adopted two resolutions on November 14. These recognized "the urgent and rightful claims to independence of the people of Korea" and laid down the principle of the participation of Korean representatives in the discussion of the problem. For that purpose, a Temporary Commission on Korea was established with the right to travel, observe and consult throughout the country.

Meanwhile, in Korea, both the Russian and American Commands had set up permanent administrations in their respective zones of occupation. Prior to the entry of American military forces into South Korea, a People's Republic had been established claiming government authority, but the American Military Command refused to recognize it and established their own Military Government. American occupation policy followed directly along three lines : progressive relinquishment of administrative responsibility to the Koreans ; establishment of a semi-legislative assembly which could reflect Korean wishes and share the burden of policy-making ; and suppression of Communist agitations which threatened to weaken the development of democratic institutions. To this end, the American Command had achieved before the arrival of the United Nation's

Temporary Commission in January, 1946 the entire replacement of American elements in the executive branches of the military government ; the establishment of the Interim Legislative Assembly ; the establishment of a Korean Judicial system ; and the establishment of a South Korean Interim Government.

The activities of the political parties in the American Zone made political conditions unstable. The parties of the right were strongly organized and held predominant political powers. Furthermore, they were in a more powerful position than the left because of their wealth and demagogic appeal for immediate independence. The left-wing parties, on the other hand, had a strong popular following because of their revolutionary agrarian and industrial platform but were weakened by their close association with Soviet policy.

In North Korea, the Russians from the very beginning of their occupation, encouraged the overthrow of the previous regime, both of its organization and its personnel. An Executive Committee of Korean People was formed which took over all the administrative power of the Chao-hsin Government and this was later replaced by a Provisional People's Committee for North Korea in February 1946, when various political parties were amalgamated into a single party, called the "New People's Front." During the summer of 1946, the groundwork was laid for an electoral form of government based upon local and national People's Committees. The New Peoples Front was then transformed into the United National Democratic Front and elections for membership in the municipal county and provincial people's committees were held in November 1946. There was only one list of candidates. A Convention of the People's Committee, at which it constituted itself as the National Assembly of Northern Korea, assembled in February 1947.

The United Nations temporary commission arrived in Seoul in January 1948, and facilities and assistance were readily extended to them by the United States military authorities, but the Soviet authorities refused to have anything to do with them. As a result, the Commission was only able to function in the South. Its first duty was to supervise the election of a National Assembly of South Korea as implemented by the General Assembly's resolution. By extensive field observation, the Commission witnessed the election programme in the most important area during the period of pre-election preparations and on the date of the election itself. Later, on June 30, it officially announced its unanimous approval of the way in which the election had been held. The National Assembly met on May 31 and elected Dr. Rhee as its permanent chairman. A new Constitution establishing the Democratic Republic of Korea applying

to the whole of Korea, was adopted on July 12, and promulgated on the 17. On July 20th, the Assembly elected Dr. Rhee as the first president of the Republic. On August 15, the Republic was formally proclaimed. The United States Military Government then transferred its authority to the new Government.

With the blessing and assistance of the United Nations and the United States, the South Korean Government, in the past three years, made some progress. The structure of Government showed signs of democracy but was weak and lacked drive. Its programme of economic development and social reform was well under way but its chief difficulty was its economy. The effect of the division of the country and of the loss to the Republic of its natural source of power, coal and fertilizer, were evident on every side. Had the United States not given her financial and economic aid it would have been difficult for the Republic to make ends meet. After the withdrawal of American forces, the Republic built up its own security forces with American help but their numbers were small. The Army had no heavy weapons, the Navy consisted only of a few obsolete vessels and there were no combat aircraft. This explains, of course, why the Southern forces could offer little resistance when the Northern forces invaded the South.

As regards the regime in the North, its Government rejected all appeals by the United Nations Commission for peaceful unification. From the very beginning, Russia prevented any attempt to hold free elections throughout Korea for she knew the Communists would be outvoted. Concomitantly with the establishment of the Republic in the South, the National Assembly of the North adopted a Constitution on Soviet lines and formed a People's Democratic Republic of its own. It is true that the Northern Government gave land to the peasants and with Russian help brought back the industries, but its claim to be a "people's democracy" was falsified by the simple fact that the regime was created by militant means and ruled by a police force. When Russia withdrew her forces, she helped the North to build a strong military force and in comparison with the 500 American advisers in the South there were 3,500 Russian advisers. At the time of the attack on the South they had armed forces of 95,000 men equipped with Russian and Japanese heavy artillery, 100 Russian tanks, and 150 combat aircraft.

At the Third Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris in 1948, the problem of Korean independence was discussed. The Assembly gave full recognition to the Republic of the South and appointed a Permanent Commission on Korea to bring about the unification of the country and to remove barriers to economic, social, and other friendly intercourse. This Commission which functioned in

Seoul until the outbreak of war did its utmost to implement the General Assembly resolutions but its work was hampered by three obstacles, namely : impossibility to establish contact with the north ; the systematic refusal of Russia to co-operate in the Commission's work ; and the artificial frontier which made friendly relations impossible.

Up to the outbreak of the war, the situation in Korea was no better than at the beginning and there was no hope of achieving the General Assembly's objectives. The main obstacles to be overcome before a solution could be found were (1) the question of peaceful unification. There were two Governments in Korea and the one in the South was the only one recognized by the United Nations while the one in the North was supported by Russia. For a peaceful unification to be reached one of them must be dissolved and the question of course was which one ? The South had refused to take part in official discussions with the North ; they demanded the removal of all traces of Russian occupation ; the purging of the regime and the liquidation of all political organizations supported by Russia. For their part the North made similar demands. If direct negotiations between the two countries were impossible the matter would have to be dealt with by some international authority and it was with this aim that the United Nations Commission was established, but while the South welcomed the Commission by asking it to continue its work the North consistently disregarded its efforts to achieve a peaceful unification. (2) The lack of a spirit of compromise. The Koreans both from the North and the South belong to the same race, speak the same language and have the same fervent love of national independence. Forty years of alien oppression have deprived them of opportunities to acquire adequate political experience with the result that after their liberation from the Japanese they were willing to accept any kind of political ideology or system which would lead them to independence. The outcome of having a Communist controlled People's Democracy in the North established by the Russians, and a free Democracy in the South sponsored by the Americans, was a sharper division in Korean politics, causing bitterness, frustration, and mutual distrust between the two peoples. The cutting-off of electric power seriously upset the economy of the South and the frequent raids which took place along the 38th parallel prior to the outbreak of the present conflict had grave effects on the morale of the people. Furthermore, the suspicions aroused by embittered propaganda rendered the prospect of unification more and more remote. (3) International political rivalries. Records show that the United States co-operated fully with the United Nations Commission whereas Russia completely boycotted the Commission's efforts and the world-wide antagonism between these two powers continued to be the

greatest single and perhaps decisive factor, contributing to the worsening of relations between the North and South. No substantial progress towards the achievement of unification on the principles approved by the General Assembly and the Moscow Conference could be effectively made without renewed efforts by the two great powers to come to an agreement on the problem.

The complete failure of a settlement of the Korean problem is one of the tragic consequences of the war. The wish of every Korean to make his country independent has so far come to nought. They had a long record of proud independence and isolation but the strategic importance of their country has betrayed them. She has been a pawn in the clashes between China and Japan, Japan and Russia, and now Russia and the United States. Even if the war stopped to-morrow and the "38th Parallel" once more observed, the Korean problem would still remain unsolved, until the difficulties which I have outlined above are surmounted. Let us hope that the present war will bring about a better understanding among those parties concerned in solving the problem and the fulfilment of the national aspirations of the Korean people.

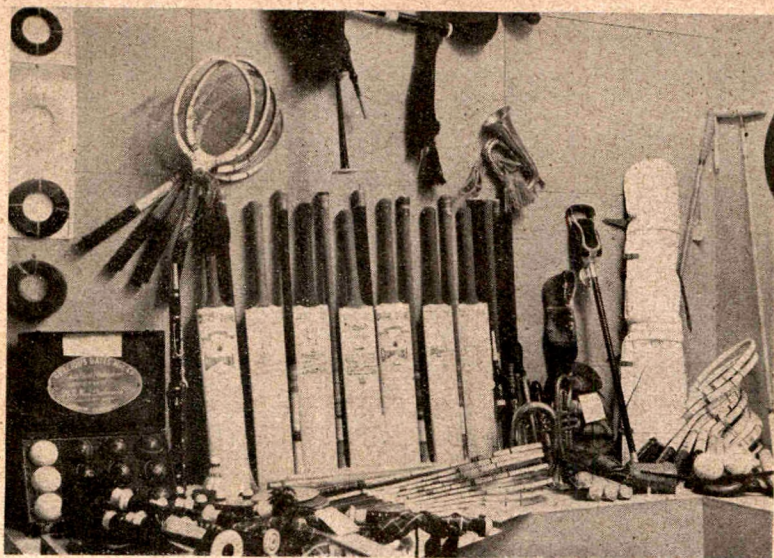
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FINANCE, ECONOMY, AND INDUSTRY OF PAKISTAN

By A CORRESPONDENT

THE UNPRECEDENTED circumstances in which Pakistan had to nation-build in a hurry will be well known to most readers of this REVIEW. When the country's spokesmen have related with pride how difficulties were overcome and what progress has been made they have usually dwelt on financial stability and economic prospects. Here it is proposed to go into Pakistani statements and publicists' points in this field more fully.

The presentation by the Central Government of three successive surplus budgets is a proof of the inherent strength of the country's economy. In these budgets, in addition to providing for heavy defence expenditure, large sums have been set apart for agricultural and industrial developments, overseas scholarships and relief in direct taxation. The establishment of the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948, and the subsequent creation of 34 commercial banks with 251 offices throughout the country inaugurated an era of sound banking which was greatly needed for financing development schemes.



A SECTION OF THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT STAND
AT THE BRITISH INDUSTRIES FAIR IN LONDON

Pakistan has been, fortunately, endowed with much-sought-after raw materials like jute, cotton, hides and skins, wool, tea, etc., in return for which she is able to import consumer goods as well as heavy and light machinery. Foreign countries which have concluded bilateral agreements with her are India, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Japan, Egypt, West Germany, France, and Hungary. Her chief imports from these sources are coal, iron and steel, textiles, sugar, timber, and light and heavy machinery.

The North-West Frontier Province presents a good example of industrial endeavour now in progress in the country. Here attention has been given to the production of hydro-electric power. Large areas have been electrified, and at the conclusion of the schemes now under way industry and transport in not only this province but the whole of West Pakistan may well be revolutionized. Next in importance comes the sugar industry. Premier Sugar Mills, Mardan, the biggest sugar factory in Asia, is expected to produce 50,000 tons annually. Other existing and proposed factories in the province are a tannery and a woollen textile mill at Nowshera, a cigarette factory at Akora Khattok, oil and flour mills at Peshawar and a pharmaceutical factory.

To encourage investment in industrial undertakings, concessions have been offered in the matter of initial and special depreciation allowances.

The abolition of the Capital Gains Tax, and the reduction in the Super Tax rates are further inducements to investment, foreign and indigenous. While some foreign capital has come into the country, its volume and the rate at which it is coming has not given satisfaction to economists and planners. In order to quicken the pace of development the Government has taken the lead by creating the Industries Development Corporation. To this corporation has fallen the task of developing certain specified industries for which private capital is not forthcoming. These industries include jute, paper, heavy engineering other than ship-building, ship-building, heavier chemicals, and fertilizers.

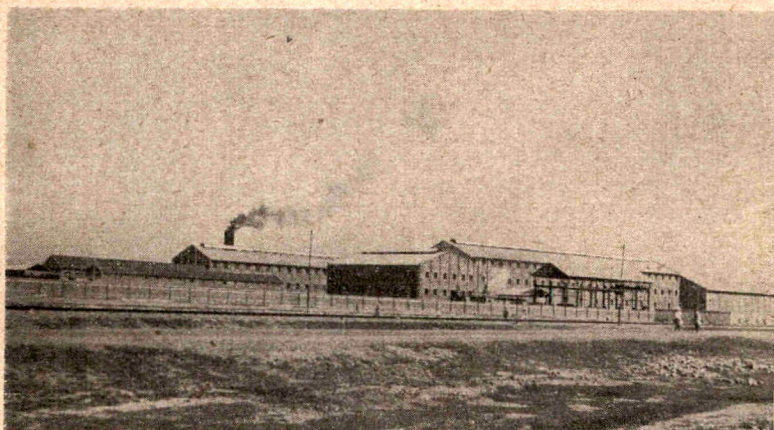
Pakistan's seaports are having to face an acute shortage of anchorage as a result of the rapidly increasing sea traffic. Karachi is being enlarged by the addition of a commercial dry-dock, a fish-harbour with provision for net-drying, refrigeration, canning, etc. The Royal Pakistan Navy has decided to construct a naval dock for its own use. The expanding exports and imports have occasioned considerable congestion and delays at Chittagong. Great effort has been needed to clear the bottle-necks and improve the capacity. On partition Chittagong's four berths could handle only 500,000 tons. Today the figures are 13 berths with a capacity of 1,800,000 tons. Future target is set at 4,000,000 tons per annum at a cost of Rs.144,000,000.



JUTE-LOADING IN CHITTAGONG
(EASTERN PAKISTAN)



KEAMARI DOCKS, KARACHI



ASIA'S BIGGEST SUGAR MILL IN MARDAN
THE MACHINERY WAS SUPPLIED BY MESSRS. GEORGE
FLETCHER AND CO. OF DERBY

Development plans for improving the existing network of roads, railways, seaports, airports, and inland waterways are under consideration by the Government. Five shipping companies with tonnage exceeding 100,000 tons have been registered in Pakistan. The target on the completion of negotiations now in progress, is 150,000 deadweight tons.

Pakistanis are anxious to develop their country. It has immense raw material resources, and given the co-operation of much needed foreign capital and industrial "know-how" these resources can be developed speedily to usher in an era of prosperity. With the Pakistani it is almost an article of faith that this development and prosperity are bound to come. How long they will be in coming is not entirely in his power to determine, because this depends largely on the speed with which the industrialized nations of the world respond to his appeal for assistance. In this respect he looks to the Commonwealth for co-operation.

CLIMATERIC IN INDO-CHINA?

By BARBARA WHITTINGHAM-JONES

MORE THAN any other country in South-East Asia, Indo-China is governed by its geographic situation. It is true that Thailand and Burma also march with China in the north, but both these countries back on to the Indian Ocean which is surely held by the democratic powers of the Commonwealth and the free world. The long coastline of Viet-Nam, on the other hand, is washed by the China Sea and as such an additional source of exposure. All three Associated States of Indo-China, and more particularly the dominant seaboard State of Viet-Nam lie at the extreme perimeter of democratic South-East Asia and are almost completely isolated from it. For this reason controversy between the nationalist parties in Viet-Nam and France has always seemed to me to be of an academic character *au fonds*. That the nationalist movement in Viet-Nam is genuine, legitimate and as such a true cousin of the parallel movements in Burma and Indonesia, is universally acknowledged. But that Viet-Nam is any more likely to attain genuine independence in the absence of France than under the umbrella of France is extremely hypothetical. Tonkin, the northern province of Viet-Nam was originally a province of China and several times since Annam won its independence during the tenth century A.D., has been re-occupied by China, the last occasion being in 1945-6. The fact that each of these

occupations occurred under a totally different Chinese regime only emphasises the present danger. The prospect of Viet-Nam attaining a situation comparable to that now enjoyed by Burma and Indonesia is, and ever since 1945 has been, extremely improbable. It is understandable that Vietnamese nationalists are reluctant, even unable, to accept the finality of such an *impasse*, but the existence of this *impasse* is the real reason why the political deadlock has continued so long and why neither the Western Powers nor the United Nations have exerted any pressure on either party for the purpose of expediting a solution.

With the conclusion of the Pau Conference on November 27, however, the substantial transfer of power, begun at the end of 1949, is complete, and has been followed up by the decision to create as quickly as possible a strong and well-equipped Viet-Nam Army. Civil administration has already been handed over largely to the Vietnamese and by the beginning of 1951 the only French officials left in Indo-China will be those concerned with education, war damage, and the security of French troops, together with some who are on loan to the Associated States. In the course of the debate in the Assembly the French Government pledged itself to allow the people of Viet-Nam to choose their own rulers as soon as conditions allow free and fair elections. Acceptance of the Emperor Bao Dai is no longer the condition of a political settlement and compromise with the Viet Minh is not ruled out. If Pandit Nehru's appeal for a re-opening of negotiations with Ho Chi-minh should gain acceptance in the Viet Minh hierarchy the way would be open for a tripartite conference between the three Governments of the Associated States, the Viet Minh and France.

This consummation of French policy is welcome in the main because it gives Vietnamese nationalists the only *casus belli* which might induce them to resist invasion by Chinese Communists. In some quarters it is criticized as too belated to be effective, but unprejudiced observers who have visited Indo-China would I think hesitate to affirm that even had this political revolution taken place five years ago, the military situation at the present time would greatly differ. If Chinese Communist imperialism is a reality the security of all South-East Asia demands that its northern gate be held. To suppose that this can be or could have been done now without the support of Western arms is sheer delusion, and in any military defence plan the French forces, for reasons of language and general local knowledge are an indispensable element.

The danger is that unless its defences are rapidly strengthened, Indo-China may become a second Korea. French Union forces now operating there total 150,000 men, of which about 40,000 are from Viet-Nam and about 7,000 from Laos and Cambodia. On November 24 it was

announced in Washington that the United States ear-marked \$300m. to \$400m (£107m. to £142m.) for a two-year programme of aid to French and allied forces fighting Communist rebels in Indo-China. In return the United States are believed to have extracted renewal of the pledge, given by M. Pleven in the Assembly on October 19, that France will not withdraw from Indo-China. As a first instalment two combat groups of B-26 bombers—making a total of 50 machines—are to be levied “at the earliest opportunity” from the United States air forces originally ear-marked for Korea. But the United Nations reverse in Korea may postpone this transfer indefinitely, and already Peking radio is making allegations—which are beginning to have a familiar ring—that armed French ground and air forces had several times violated Chinese territory. Even should the new strategy planned by General Juin exceed its most optimistic calculations, the Anti-Communist forces in Indo-China are not strong enough to withstand a major Communist offensive without considerable and regular re-inforcements of arms if not of troops. It is of vital importance that Tonkin should be held for it is the northern bastion of Laos and Siam. By the time this article is published, the Washington talks which are in progress at the time of writing, may have revealed a keener awareness of the importance of this front on the part of Britain and the United States than has been manifest in the past.

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN TONKIN

By GEORGES MAREY

SINCE MID-SEPTEMBER the Franco-Vietnam troops are heavily engaged in Tonkin with the forces of Viet Minh. On September 18 the fort of Don-Khé on the frontier, after a heroic resistance fell into the hands of the rebels. Between October 3 and 8 occurred the tragic events of Cao Bang during which the garrison of 1,600 men was cut up during their retreat by greatly superior enemy forces, together with the relief column of 3,200 men. On October 18 the French command decided to evacuate the strong point of Langson, and on November 1 Lao Kay in the North-East of Tonkin, a gateway into China, was likewise abandoned. Thus the whole of the mountainous region was given up, and the Franco-Vietnam army now only holds (apart from the coastal strip Haiphon-Moncaï) the delta of the Red River a fertile and densely-populated region of rice fields, known as “Tonkin Utile.”

The question may well be asked : Why this retreat ? The explanation is that the object had been, as in the other regions of Indo-China, the pacification of the country. In order to carry through the work of pacification and to maintain order and security it was necessary to hold the country, to occupy it, and therefore to instal a chain of strong points, and in consequence to weaken to a large degree the striking force of the enemy. In pursuance of this policy the high command had maintained the line of forts of Cao Bang, Dong Khé, that Khé and Langson facing China in very difficult terrain. This line was linked together by the famous *Route Coloniale* No. 4 (the " road of death ") which was the scene of countless ambushes, attacks on convoys and actual combats. During recent months communication with the more distant forts could only be preserved by an air-lift. The result has been that the operations in 1950 had considerably enlarged the zone under control, and freed the approaches to the capital of Hanoi. In consequence large sections of the population in the South of the delta joined the government of the Emperor Bao Dai. This policy of pacification could be pursued as long as the Vietminh rebels only had small forces at their disposal and no heavy armour. But now the position has undergone a complete change. France and Vietnam, which has become one of the states associated with the French Union, are no longer faced with a simple insurrection directed against the established government of Vietnam, but rather with the spear-head of a vast movement in South-East Asia aiming at the domination of the whole Continent.

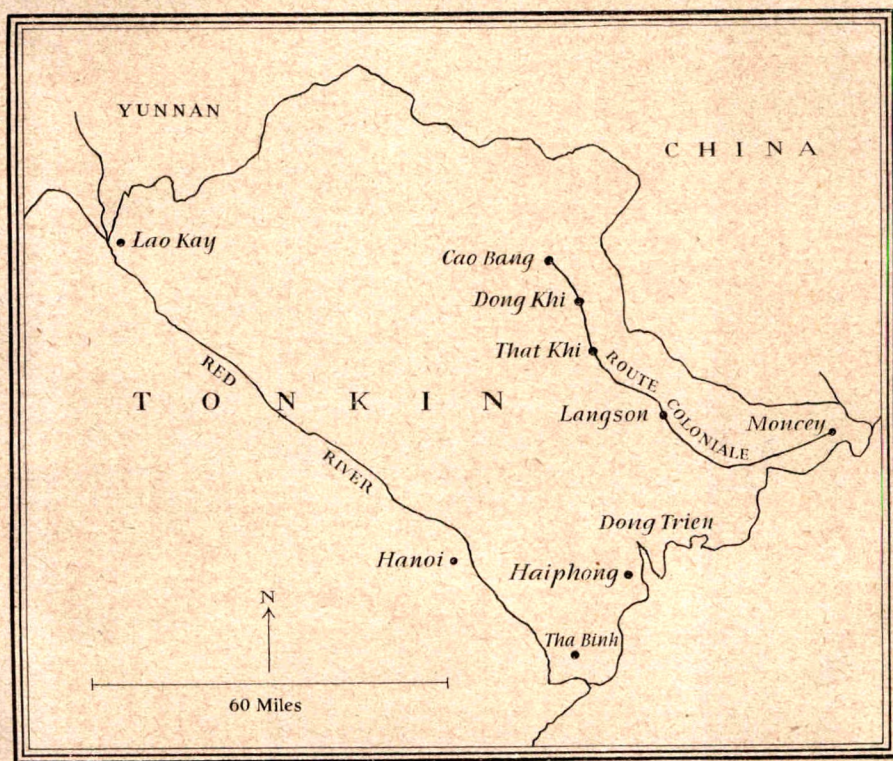
Ever since the establishment, on the borders of Tonkin, of the Communist armies of Mao Tse Toung, the Vietminh rebels have received very effective aid from their allies in Red China. Modern weapons, captured by the Communist forces from the troops of Chang Kai Chek, who in turn had received them from the Americans, are now at their disposal on a large scale. Red Chinese instructors have been placed at their disposal. More than 20,000 rebels have crossed into Red China and are receiving instruction on military camps set up for the purpose in Yunnan and Kwang-si. The Viet Minh now possess 105 mm. American guns, anti-aircraft, lorries, mortars and excellent infantry weapons. They have organized regiments of regulars with modern equipment. They have the means to execute tactical operations in the field. In short TONKIN has passed from the guerilla phase to that of modern warfare, and this single fact explains all the recent events in that country.

The first operations of this new war have as their object the attack and defence of the Tonkin Delta. Both sides are poised for the battle. Here the question may well be asked why the Viet Minh forces did not

advance to the delta immediately after the fall of Langson. There are three answers to this question :

1. The heavy casualties suffered by them during the battles on the route Coloniale 4.
2. The need to advance the supply bases, which had lain so far in Chinese territory to the battle area.
3. Their rapid and sensational advance had brought in their train novel and disconcerting strategic problems. Having regard to their methods and natural prudence they may be expected to spend some time in reflection.

Meanwhile they have started a new series of guerilla actions in Cochinchina. The relative calm that has reigned in Southern Viet-Nam is being disturbed by ambushes, sabotages on the roads and bridges and ambuscades directed against convoys. This manoeuvre is intended to create an atmosphere of insecurity with the object of compelling the French command to keep in the South as many units as possible of the expeditionary force destined to reinforce the front further North in Tonkin.



GENERAL JUIN
DURING HIS RECENT
VISIT TO INDO-CHINA



Simultaneously the rebel partisans have intensified their activity in the delta of the Red River especially in the region of Thai Binh in the heart of the zone controlled by the Viet-Nam authorities. Lately the French troops have been confronted there by fortified villages. The strength of the Viet Minh force operating in this zone is estimated at 14 battalions, less well equipped however than the elements of the regular army.

The Viet Minh high command, while providing a certain liveliness on the front of the scene with his guerillas, is carrying out a vast manœuvre by regrouping his forces on the periphery of the delta. The French air-force has had frequent occasions to report large movements of troops particularly in the North-East where it appears that Giap, the War Minister of Viet Minh disposes of 18 battalions of well-equipped regulars.

What of the future ?

It appears probable that before launching a general offensive against the Viet Nam forces posted around the delta, the rebels will attempt to reduce the weaker points of defence situated at some distance from the

centre of resistance, such as Moncay, and the massif of Dong Triéu before advancing on Haiphong.

If they succeed in attaining their object, they will then have to tackle the main task. But there are grounds for hoping that the defence of the delta will have the advantage of favourable conditions. The cities of Hanoi and Haiphong which are well served by a net-work of roads provide two centres for operations which can be relatively easily reinforced. Counter-attacks at short distances can be quickly launched against any point in the battle line which may be threatened by the assailants, who will be compelled to dispose their forces in a perimeter of roughly 120 miles without any roads to help them to concentrate quickly at any point.

On the other hand the numerical superiority of the enemy and the insecurity in their rear will constitute a stiff test for the courage of Franco-Vietnam troops. We must expect therefore a period of great difficulty in the coming weeks and months. In other words, notwithstanding the measures for centralizing the command which the French command has decided upon, the considerable reinforcements which are on the way, and the strength of a new division which has recently been sent to Indo-China it cannot yet be said that the battle of the delta has been won. Nor must the present ambiguous attitude of the master of Communist China change into direct action in favour of Viet Nam. Should, under some disguise or other Chinese troops or the Chinese air-force decide to invade Tonkin, then the basis of the strategic problem will undergo a radical change. In that case the joint forces of France and Viet-Nam can no longer, without the immediate intervention in force of Allied armies and air forces, be expected successfully to defend Tonkin.

(Translated)

HARBOURS OF CEYLON



COLOMBO HARBOUR

Copyright : Tea Bureau



Photo : Port Commission, Colombo

MODEL OF THE PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT

Colombo Harbour Model (Proposed Development Scheme), shows development of the Southern end, with the Delft Pier on the left, and the South-West Breakwater Quay in the background.



Photo : Government Tourist Bureau, Ceylon
TRINCOMALEE HARBOUR

NEW COMMANDER IN INDO-CHINA



GENERAL
DE LATTRE DE TASSIGNY
FRENCH HIGH
COMMISSIONER
IN INDO-CHINA

Photo : Office Français d'Information Cinématographique

TO MEET the present critical situation the French Government recently appointed General de Lattre de Tassigny, Commander-in-Chief of the Western Union land forces (which post he retains), High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in Indo-China. He was installed in his new rôle by M. Letourneau, Minister for the Associated States, who visited Indo-China specially for the purpose. The combination of the two posts of High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief is intended to tighten up and centralize direction of the war against the Communist bandits in Indo-China, and is complementary to the additional powers recently conferred on M. Letourneau who is responsible for defence. The French Government expects that the appointment of General de Lattre, whose power of leadership is rated very highly in the French Army, will greatly strengthen the moral of the expeditionary corps and of the local population, badly shaken by the recent disasters in Tonkin.

SHAKESPEARE COMPANY TO TOUR INDIA AND PAKISTAN



THIS KEYSTONE PHOTO SHOWS THE DIRECTOR READING
A SCRIPT WITH MEMBERS OF THE COMPANY

THE FIRST theatrical venture by the British Council in India and Pakistan is to take place this winter with the sending of a recital company to give a series of dramatic recitals from Shakespeare in the manner of the original Elizabethan theatre.

The company is being directed by Mr. Norman Marshall and its members are Mr. Walter Fitzgerald, Mr. John Wyse, Miss Frances Clare, Mr. David King-Wood, Miss Judith Stott, and Mr. Jonathan Meddings.

The company will tour India and Pakistan, visiting 16 cities. Travel to and from the United Kingdom and between cities will be almost entirely by air, and the company will cover nearly 17,000 miles. The number of performances at each town will vary from two to 20, and well over 100 will be given in all.

Because of the lack of theatres in all but the large centres and the difficulty of transporting elaborate costumes and scenery, a setting has been designed by Mr. Hugh Stevenson so that the company will be able to play in almost any large building such as a university hall or cinema.

INDIA ADVANCES IN PRODUCTIVITY

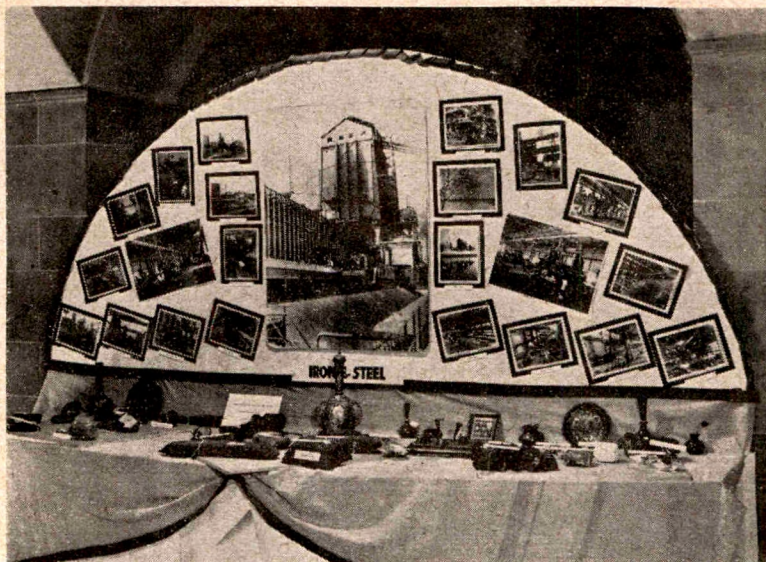


Photo : Sport and General
NINE MILLION TONS OF STEEL



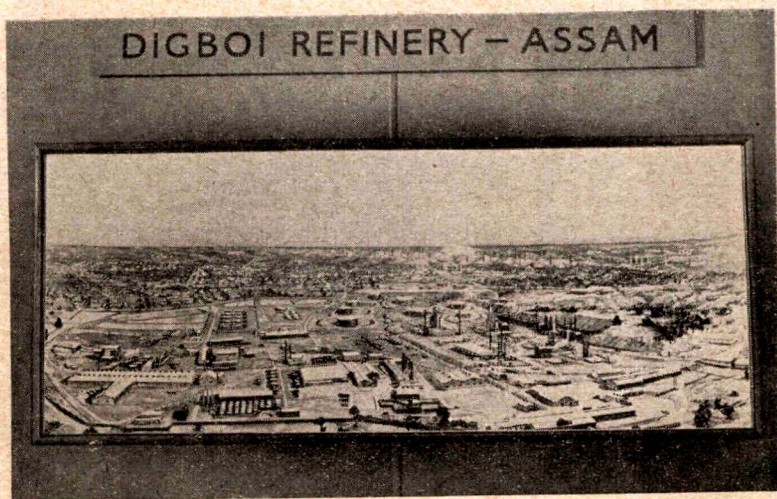
Photo : Sport and General
TOBACCO EXPORTS NEARLY DOUBLED

The Indian iron and steel industry, which is the second largest in the Commonwealth, was started in 1908. In 1949 the production of steel in India amounted to nine million tons.

In 1948-49 the output of tobacco in India was 530 million pounds. Nearly 50 per cent of the tobacco-producing areas in India are in Madras. Export in 1949-50 to U.K. was nearly double that of 1948-49.

Current production of petroleum in terms of quantity is 85 million gallons, almost all of which comes from the Digboi field.

The photographs are exhibits at the recent exhibition of Indian industries at India House, London.



DIGBOI REFINERY — ASSAM

Photo : Sport and General

85 MILLION GALLONS OF PETROLEUM

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN AZARBAIJAN*

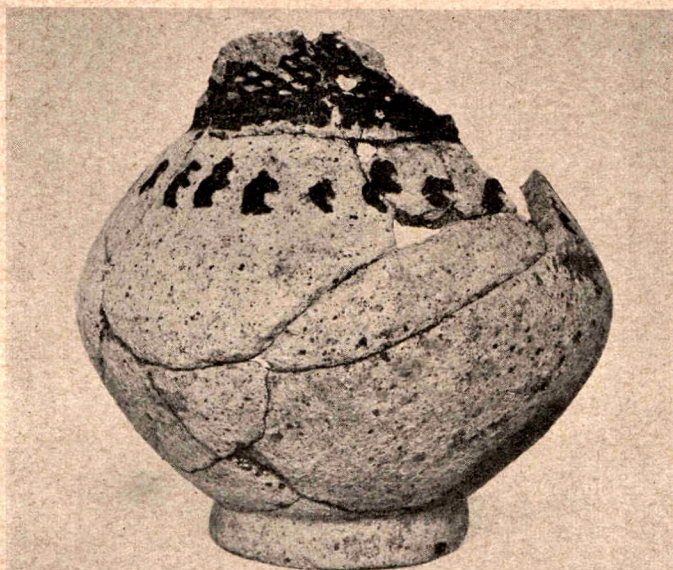
By T. BURTON BROWN, B.A.

DURING 1948 an excavation was carried out at Geoy Tepe, near Rezaiyyeh, in Azarbaijan. It was only a comparatively brief excavation, but a series of objects, covering the time from about 3000 to 1000 B.C. were found, and it has been possible to construct a picture of the ancient history of that district from them. This is of some interest, since until this excavation little or nothing was known of the antiquities of north-western Persia.

The earliest material found is of the category called al-Ubaid, after a site in southern Iraq where similar objects were first found. The date of the period of this material is about 3000 B.C. It was a time when the pottery was painted with very simple designs in brown paint on the buff-coloured clay. The pots were usually quite rough in texture (Fig. 1), but at Geoy Tepe some of them were very finely made, and were of much better quality than those from Iraq. The metal things that they made at that time were of copper, and this was very pure indeed. There can have been no attempt then to alloy copper, though such attempts did, in fact, come to be made not very much later. It is still doubtful whether the people of the al-Ubaid period in Azarbaijan and Mesopotamia were related to the folk who painted somewhat similar pottery in central and southern Persia, at such places as Susa, Sialk and Damghan.

Soon after 300 B.C. the people who painted their pottery in Persia and Mesopotamia, seem to have disappeared, perhaps because newcomers ousted them from their towns. For whatever reason it was, they and their characteristic possessions are no longer to be seen, and instead quite new kinds of pots are made. At Geoy Tepe the new pots are grey, or black, sometimes with decoration made by impressed circular hollows, a type which seems to be known only in Azarbaijan. Elsewhere in Persia the pots now made were equally plain, but of different shapes. Sometimes at Geoy Tepe the pots were decorated with designs modelled in relief, either taking the form of animals, or of abstract motifs, such as the spiral shown on Fig. 3. This use of the spiral, and of animal-shaped motifs, is most interesting, for the same kind of designs appear on contemporary pots in Cyprus and in the Aegean. It is for this reason, amongst others, that it is believed that there may have been some sort of connexion between Azarbaijan, and lands far to the west, early in the "Bronze Age". Similar ways of decorating pottery also appear in Georgia, where just the same kinds of plain black and grey polished pots were in use as in Azarbaijan. Possibly the people who brought

* Abstract of a Lecture delivered to the Iran Society on May 12, 1949.



1



2

Above : AL-UBAID POTTERY, ABOUT 3000 B.C. BLACK DECORATION ON ROUGH BUFF CLAY

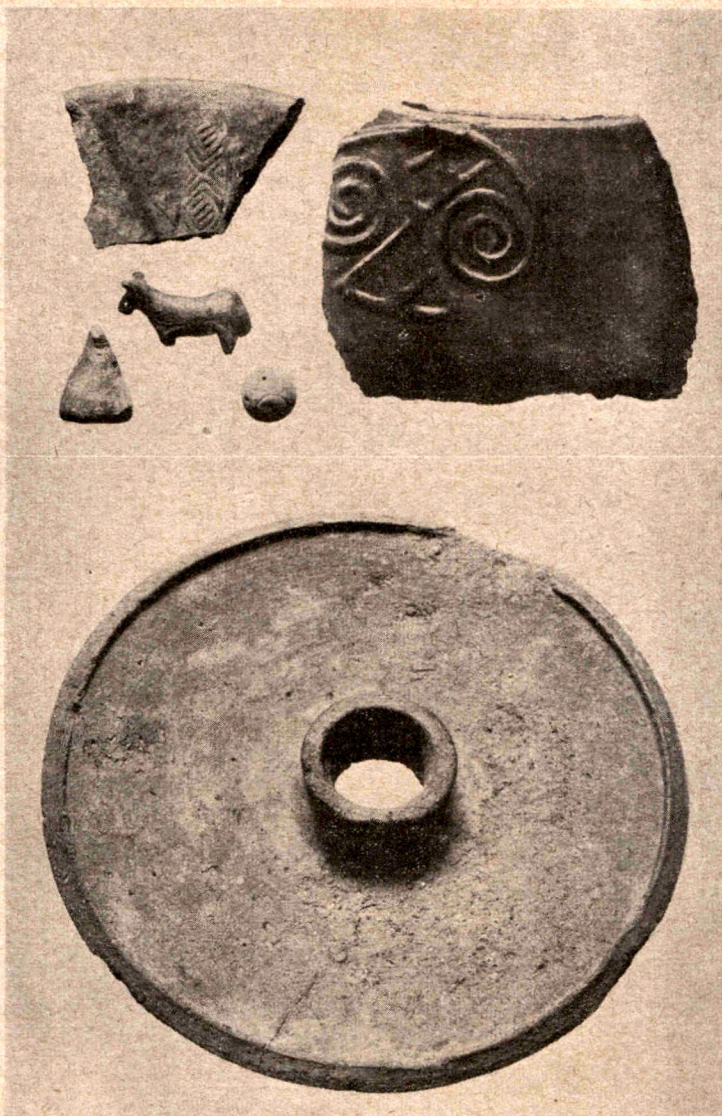
Below : EARLY IRON AGE POTTERY OF POLISHED RED CLAY. ABOUT 1200 B.C.

the new plain pottery to Geoy Tepe, and ousted the folk who had painted their wares, came from the north, and, if so, they may have spread westward to Syria, and on to the Mediterranean.

As time passed, and one comes towards the date of about 2500 B.C., more and more pottery of pale buff colours was made, frequently in the form of small drinking cups. Other things which they made were little figurines of animals, one of which, a figure of an ox with long horns, is shown in Figure 3. They also seem to have been very fond of playing games with little specially-designed figures, and two of their gamesmen are shown in Figure 3, one a pyramid-shaped object (bottom left) and the other a ball, with circles scratched on it, each circle having a punctured dot in the middle. Above the figurine of the ox in Figure 3 is a sherd of pottery, broken from a flat disc which would have been used as a cover, to be placed on the top of the neck of a water jar. It has had a cylinder seal rolled across it, and part of the impression can be seen. This type of engraving on cylinder seals is to be seen also on the seals found below the level of the famous "Royal Cemetery" at Ur, and can therefore be dated as earlier than that Cemetery.

At about 2500 B.C. a new kind of people occupied Geoy Tepe, as we know from the fact that completely new pottery was made there, quite unlike anything made there before. This new pottery is painted, and a characteristic type of pot is the shallow bowl illustrated in Figure 5. This is of buff clay, nicely polished, and then painted in two colours, matt black and lustrous red. In the case of the bowl illustrated here the decoration is not only of simple geometrical designs, the normal style with this kind of pottery at this date, but also with drawings of birds. Pots painted with two or more colours were being made at this time in Georgia, and sometimes painted with pictures of birds in just the same way as on this bowl, and, may be, one should think that the people who spread at this time into Azarbaijan also occupied Georgia. Whence they came from originally is not known, but it seems unlikely that they came from the south or west, so it is possible that one should think of their coming from Russia. They seem to have spread widely, and they, or related peoples, entered Anatolia, and may even have reached Greece, and Egypt, at about 2000 B.C. They almost certainly established the Second Period culture at Susa, when polychrome painted pots were being made, sometimes with decoration of pictures of birds, at about 2300 B.C.

Amongst the peoples who came into the Near East at the same time as these folk who painted their pots in polychrome, were other people who made plain pottery which was covered with a red wash of colour. These people can be traced, by the finds of their pots, in Anatolia, for just the same kind of vessels have been found in many Anatolian sites,



3

4

Above : OBJECTS OF POLISHED BLACK POTTERY OF THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

Below : BROWN CLAY VESSEL OF ABOUT 2000 B.C. PERHAPS A TORCH-HOLDER

especially at Troy, where these red-washed pots occurred in the cities of Troy IV and V, which can be dated to just before 2000 B.C.

The people who came to Geoy Tepe at about 2500 B.C. seem to have been very competent technicians. They made glass beads, and were the first people to do so, so far as we know, in the world's history. And they also alloyed copper with various proportions of tin. The proportions varied very considerably, and no established canon was laid down. Sometimes one finds 0.5 per cent of tin, sometimes 5.0 per cent, and sometimes 10 per cent. The smaller amounts of tin would have had the effect of making the alloy easier to cast in a closed mould than pure copper, while the bigger amount would also have had the effect of making the metal harder than pure copper, so that a knife of such an alloy would have kept its edge longer. These people seem also to have experimented with the metal iron, though they never seem to have been very fond of it. But they did manage to melt it, a great achievement, for the temperature required would need an excellent furnace. The first, and only piece of cast iron ever found in a prehistoric excavation was discovered at Geoy Tepe, in a level which can be dated to before 2000 B.C.

Some tombs of these people were excavated at Geoy Tepe. They were beautifully built of stone, and one was so constructed that it could be entered from time to time, by lifting the door, which was a big slab of stone. In this tomb there were bowls for food for the dead people inside, containing a joint of meat, and then, on top of the joint, cereals and other food stuffs were placed. As this food disintegrated with the passing of time, it would have sunk down in the bowl, and doubtless it would have looked as if the dead people had eaten it. It seems likely that the living must have thought so and decided to keep the dead supplied, for the bowls, when they were found in 1948, supported the biggest possible pyramid of earth, to which the food had changed with the passing of time. Such a pyramid could never have been formed with a single filling of the bowl. Such attention to the needs of the dead in antiquity has hardly ever been so dramatically illustrated before in an excavation. Another curious object found in a tomb of this date of before 2000 B.C. is illustrated in Figure 4. This looks quite like an old-fashioned candlestick, and perhaps it is some sort of torch-holder. Nothing like it has ever been found before in Persia, though there is a not dissimilar disc, very much bigger, and made of stone, from a First Dynasty tomb in Egypt.

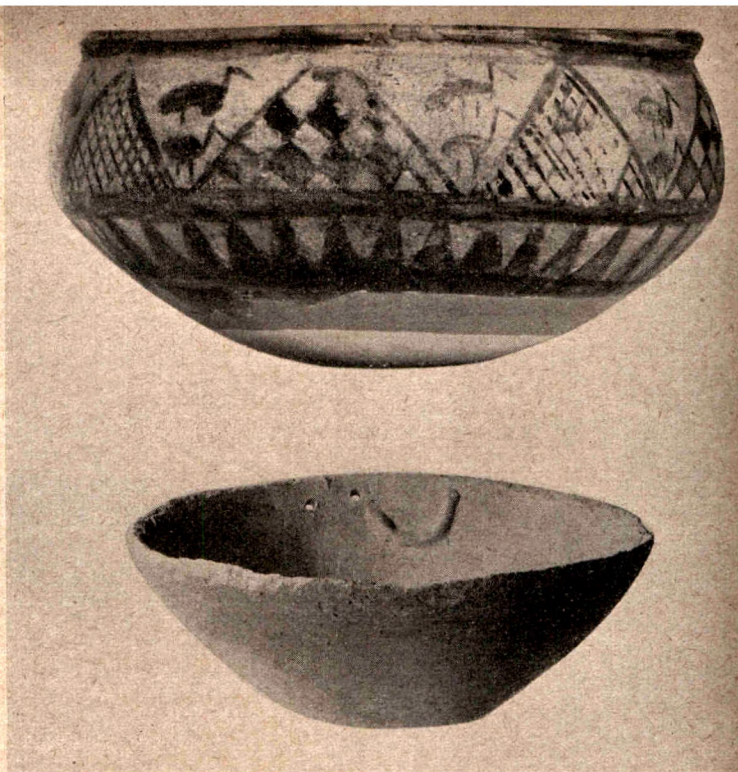
Various new people came to Geoy Tepe at different times during the centuries after 2000 B.C. Of these folk the most interesting are those who arrived at about 1200 B.C., for they were the first people to use iron as their material for objects of every day use. It is not known whence they came, but they were certainly strangers when they arrived in Azarbaijan, and as some

BOWL OF THE END OF
THE THIRD MILLENIUM
RED AND BLACK
DECORATION ON
BUFF CLAY

5

POLISHED BROWN
POTTERY OF ABOUT
1500 B.C.

6



of their pots can be paralleled closely in Georgia, it may be that they had come from more northerly lands. Some of the details of these pots are very interesting, as for example the little knobs on the handles, for just the same little knobs on handles (Fig. 2) appear at this time of the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus and Greece. There are many other similarities between the pots of Azarbaijan, and more western lands, at this period, and it may be that people then spread from northern Persia towards the Mediterranean, bringing with them the knowledge of iron, and the other new things that then came to Greece.

Though Azarbaijan was unknown to archaeologists until two years ago, the material which has been found makes it now possible to begin to write the outlines of its history. That history is not a catalogue of little local events, but a part of the history of the whole Near East, for clearly in those ancient times Azarbaijan was no isolated back-water, but occupied by people of the highest inventiveness and capacity, whose ability aided peoples in many lands to increase their standard of life. It is with the liveliest sense of gratitude that we, in England, may record the unceasing and most generous help given by Professor Bahrami and the staff of the Antiquities Department at Tehran, which has resulted in the happiest and most fruitful co-operation in the pursuit of science.

A MIRROR FOR PRINCES : THE QĀBŪS-NĀMA ★

By PROFESSOR R. LEVY

I HAVE recently been engaged in editing, with a view to publication in the Gibb Memorial Series, the Persian text of the *Qābūs-nāma*, a work composed, or at any rate completed, in the year 475/1082-3, by Kai Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar ibn Qābūs ibn Washmgīr. It is a very good and representative piece of early Persian literature, written in straightforward style, with quatrains and pieces of occasional verse to relieve the tedium of prose and numerous anecdotes with which to drive home the lessons of the various discourses.

The work pictures the manners, customs and habits of thought prevailing amongst the people of the Caspian provinces of Persia in the 11th century A.D., but there is plenty in it that is perfectly recognizable today almost anywhere in the Middle East, so that it could with advantage be placed in the hands of any traveller, diplomatist, merchant or student who wishes to understand the mentality of people in the less sophisticated regions of Egypt, Iraq or Iran at the present moment.

It may be said in passing that one of the by-products of the two great world-wars was a steep rise in the rate of change which is always and everywhere taking place in social ideals, practices and habits of mind. In the last war, it was not the chief participants who suffered the greatest change, but the smaller countries, some of whom were not primarily interested—more especially those of the Middle East—who were drawn into the vortex by the very force of circumstances. In these smaller countries, powerful western groups, in manoeuvring for position, broke down international frontiers as though they were garden fences. Together with their powerful mechanical contrivances (including the cinema) and the abundance of their material wealth, the western powers introduced manners and forms of behaviour that came to be firmly associated in the minds of the less sophisticated inhabitants of Iran with the evidences of power and wealth, and were hence regarded as worth copying.

Of course, imitations of western manners and behaviour were not previously unknown, but they were sufficiently unusual and crude to be treated as subjects for amusement and mockery. Now, however, with the advent of these powerful new factors, the possibility has been created that the new importations may no longer give rise to comment and be taken for granted. There is in fact being produced a state of affairs which may lose Persia its individuality, although the danger is not immediate because the land has its own characteristics of very ancient

★ A Lecture delivered before the Iran Society on May 31, 1950.

growth and too deeply ingrained to be readily overlaid. What is described in the *Qābūs-nāma* is still easily recognizable to-day and some features of the Iranian character have obviously not changed since the days of Herodotus.

I should wish to make it clear at the outset, however, that the *Qābūs-nāma* is the work of a warrior-chieftain who lived on the shores of the Caspian Sea about 900 years ago and that in it he was giving his favourite son and probable successor the benefit of his own experiences in life while discoursing on a great many sides of existence. The work must not, and cannot, be taken as representing the ideas or ideals of every Persian, and certainly not of all Muslims. In fact, it can no more be regarded as a mirror of Islamic doctrine than Machiavelli's *Prince* or Lord Chesterfield's *Letters* as a manual of Christian ethics.

At the beginning of his book the author speaks with pride of his royal ancestry and at intervals particularly emphasizes the glories of the reign of his grandfather, Qābūs ibn Washmgīr, after whom, it would appear, the book is called—although not by its author. This Qābūs, who died in 403/1012, was the most distinguished member of the warrior dynasty of the Ziyarids, who established themselves as chieftains in the mountainous districts bordering the south and south-eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, that is, in Gilan, Tabaristan (Mazandaran) and Jurjan, where they allied themselves by marriage with the Dailamite Buwaihids, those powerful princes who came down to Baghdad in the Xth century A.D. and manipulated the Caliphate to their own advantage.

The first of the line to stand upon his own feet was Ziyar's son Mardawij, whose name is said to be an arabicized form of the Persian *mard-awiz* ("Man-hanger"), and may be some indication of his character. We have better-authenticated evidence of the qualities of Qābūs, who was a remarkable combination of blood-thirsty warrior and learned *savant*. He was a skilled Arabist, a voluminous correspondent, an adept at philosophy and astronomy and a prince who ordered his court-life in princely luxury. At the same time, says the biographer Yaqut, in his Dictionary of Learned Men, "He transgressed all limits in his blood-thirsty killings, putting to death one after another the chiefs of his body-guard and his principal courtiers, until not a single one remained."

Our author himself admits that his grandfather was a harsh man incapable of forgiving an injury, although in other respects he speaks of him as possessed of sagacity. It cannot have been very great where state policy was concerned, for his outrageous conduct goaded his troops into exiling him. They had in this the support of the Ghaznawids, who were also responsible in the end for reducing the dynasty to complete vassalage. Kai Kā'us, the author of the *Qābūs-nāma*, spent his own life

as a minor chieftain under the Seljuqids, with very doubtful prospects, and his book is evidence that the son for whom he is writing might have to face almost any kind of vicissitudes of fortune. It is for that reason that he places before him certain general principles which may stand him in good stead in a variety of occupations.

After the foregoing remarks about the author's ancestry and background, you will perhaps not expect to find in the *Qābūs-nāma* any ethical treatise of lofty character, and you will not be disappointed. It is in fact a budget of memoranda containing the distilled results of a lifetime's experience in a small Persian state, and it is designed to be a practical manual composed by a warrior chieftain for the benefit and guidance of a favourite son. Its gospel is expediency; nevertheless it contains the standard exhortations to a moral life and many of the usual injunctions about being a good Muslim. In this connexion it may perhaps not be inappropriate to cite a passage from Sir Charles Lyall's *Life of Warren Hastings* (published in 1889), in which he says, "There is no such school for practical politics as Asia, where the good old rule of taking and keeping still prevails side by side with the most solemn and laudable precepts of justice and virtue; and where inconsistencies between acts and axioms trouble no one." It is not without significance, perhaps, that the India Office Library's manuscript copy of the Persian text of the *Qābūs-nāma* bears the autograph signature of Warren Hastings.

There is nevertheless no obvious cynicism in the work, which on the whole may claim to be a forthright description of things as they are. Indeed, in the matter of chivalry, the author reaches heights surpassed in few literatures. For example, "Should a man throw himself upon your chivalry, then, even if he has slain the one dearest to you and though he be your bitterest enemy, once he has surrendered to you, admitted his helplessness and entrusted himself to *your* chivalry rather than that of any other man, though your life is likely to be imperilled by your act, let it go. Have no fear; fight for your life on his behalf and so achieve 'nobility'."

There are also in the work plenty of shrewd judgments on the motives which drive men to action, as well as on their gullibility; indeed the proportion of good sense to priggishness is fairly high as compared with what may be found in some of the professed works on ethics. In the illustrative anecdotes it is a type of sardonic humour which prevails rather than broad good-humour, although the work constantly urges the advantage to be derived from showing the world a pleasant face in all circumstances. There broods over the whole that tragic attitude towards the transitoriness of life which pervades Persian literature in general. "The end and aim of all human activity is death and departure

from the world." The Sufi (the Muslim mystic) of course makes a virtue of it, the rest of mankind goes its everyday road and endures what comes. The author's advice to his son is that in the circumstances he had better confront the heavens with shoulders braced and mouth open, taking hard blows with the one and with the other any tit-bits that might come.

The spiritual atmosphere of the work thus differs from that of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*, although both indulge in the most laudable exhortations to piety and the moral life. Another element of difference between them is that whereas the lucubrations of that polished English nobleman, Lord Chesterfield, could be damned by Dr. Johnson as teaching the morals of a whore and the manners of a dancing-master, the *Qābūs-nāma*, in spite of its lip-service to conventional morality, does frequently cast off pretence and show us the real medieval warrior underneath.

In one respect the two fathers, Kai Kā'us and Lord Chesterfield, agree completely, and that is in asserting that their sons will pay no heed whatever to the valuable counsel being offered them. "There is a fire in the bellies of the young men of today," says the Persian prince, "which inflames them with the opinion that they know better than their fathers." Another point over which the two elders agree is in the conviction that good manners are essential for social success and that the middle way in all things makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise.

However, Kai Kā'us does, as already said, occasionally give us a glimpse into his bare soul. Obey the law, he says, for it is expedient to do so. Yet you need not cling to it slavishly, remembering, however, that if you break it you must exercise taste. If you drink wine, let it be of the finest vintage; if you listen to music, it should be of the most melodious; and if you have an affair of the heart, let it be with someone beautiful. Then, even though you may be denounced as a sinner in the next world, no one will brand you as a fool in this one.

To turn now to the kind of world in which the book was written. So far as his political circumstances were concerned, the author, as a vassal of the Seljuqids would have been situated pretty much as the Rajah of a Native State in the days of British India. Socially, it was a man's world, and the general picture is that of a town centred in the midst of an agricultural area. The organization of society was not very different from that portrayed in the *Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, where partitions separating one stratum of society were very tenuous and a man might by his efforts raise himself from slavery to the highest positions in the land or be cast down by his evil star from kingship into abject poverty, and where, in fact, all things were possible.

With regard to the arrangement of the work, the author seems to have put down his ideas at random as they occurred to him, although a rough

sequence is apparent. He begins, after the stock introductory chapters on religious themes, with a man's personal, private and domestic concerns. At all times a man should busy himself with acquiring those qualities which ensure success in life. One who has inherited good family and noble birth is certainly blessed, but he should not rely upon these advantages entirely but supplement and reinforce them by personal effort. Yet while he is young it is desirable for him to enjoy the physical and mental vigour of his youth. Old age holds out little expectation of good in that respect, and, in any event, his companions are not likely to permit him to evade their society and youthful activities.

When the time comes for a man to set up his own establishment, he should take a house in a good street, one in which prosperous people live and not one lying under the city wall. But it is wise to choose the neighbours before any purchase is decided upon; 'Alids and philosophers should be avoided as setting ideals too high to be lived up to. Once he has settled in the house, he should make himself agreeable to his neighbours, entering into their joys and sorrows, contributing to the local mosque, talking to the children, enquiring after the health of the older men and generally playing the squire.

In the ordinary course of nature the time will come for him to take a wife. In his choice of one he should look for the daughter of a good family, in order to augment his military strength by powerful alliances and increase his prestige in the world. It is a course his own family have always followed in the past and found successful.

The wife's duty is to be the dignified chatelaine of the household. With this in view, the man should choose a lady who is chaste, pious, capable of ordering the household affairs, fond of her husband, modest, brief of speech and economical in her expenditure. Yet even if she should possess all these virtues, the husband should not place himself unreservedly in her hands, but should retain control of the family finances, seeing to the provisioning of the household and doing such purchasing as may be necessary. In passing, the author throws out the useful hint that if one buys more than is actually necessary, one can always sell any surplus later at a profit without incurring disgrace; indeed it is only common prudence to act in this way.

That for the lady of the house. If he is merely looking for pleasure, he can save himself a deal of trouble and expense by buying a slave-girl in the bazaar.

To this question of slave-buying the author devotes a long chapter. It is, he considers, an important and special branch of the live-stock trade, requiring for success in it the accumulation of a great deal of experience and the power of careful observation. He calls it, in fact, a

branch of science or philosophy ; and he adduces a fund of judicious comment on national characteristics, the virtues and defects of slaves of different races and the suitability of slaves of various types for offices within the household and outside. If some of his judgements are no longer of practical application, others are at least of anthropological interest.

Thus, when speaking of the Turks, to take an instance—and here he seems to mean the inhabitants of Central Asia generally—he singles out the Ghuzz and the Qipchaks as the most ill-natured, and the Khutanese and Tibetans as the best-tempered. Those most inured to toil and the most active are the Tatars and the Yaghma, while the laziest of all are the Chigil. In the Turks all qualities are present in a superlative degree, both what are fine and what are ugly. Generally speaking, they are a blunt-witted, ignorant, boastful, turbulent and discontented lot ; but, on the other hand, they are brave, free from pretence, open in enmity and zealous in the performance of any task allotted them. In similar fashion he sums up the qualities of Slavs and Russians (between whom he makes a distinction), Byzantines, Armenians and Hindus.

But he is perhaps of most interest to us when he discusses the types of men suited to various kinds of employment which he enumerates. Thus, the slave suited to be a musician should be soft-fleshed but not over-fat. (Beware of the heavy-faced man, particularly !). His fingers must be slim and his hair neither too red nor too black. The slave suited to be a warrior has coarse hair, an erect body of powerful build, thick skin, broad shoulders and a heavy neck. For preference he should be bald and his eyes should be black. The important position of slave to the women's quarters must never be allotted to any but a dark-skinned male, sour-visaged, shrill-voiced and scanty-haired, whose noticeable features are thick lips, a flat nose, bowed figure and a thin neck.

No slave should be purchased out of a household in which he has been pampered, for nothing you may do for him will earn his gratitude. Those slaves already in your possession should not be maintained in a penniless condition, otherwise they will somehow contrive to earn money outside. If one of them demands to be sold, yield to his request with good grace ; you will get no more satisfaction from such a slave than from a wife who demands to be divorced.

When it comes to the upbringing and education of children, you must ensure that they are given the best food and nurture possible, irrespective of whether they are boys or girls. Education is a different matter. Boys, when of an age to learn, must be induced to apply themselves to study, stimulated by the rod, if necessary. But that is to be wielded not by the parent but by the tutor, who will incur the consequent odium and leave the youth's affections to be concentrated on the father. The boy is to be

taught all the arts and graces suited to a man of quality, leaving handicrafts and ordinary learning to be inherited by the common run of mankind. Nevertheless, skill in various trades should not be entirely neglected by the nobleman's son, for he never knows when it will not stand him in good stead.

As for girls, they must be instructed in the essential religious duties when they are old enough, but in no circumstances must they be taught to read and write, if deplorable consequences are to be avoided. In other respects they must receive good treatment, and no Muslim maiden should be exposed to unhappiness by being married to a man unlikely to be successful in life. All the same, whenever possible, daughters must be married off and the burden of them transferred as quickly as may be on to the shoulders of their husbands.

Various sections of the *Qābūs-nāma* are devoted to describing the best methods of ordering one's daily life. The twenty-four hours should be divided into three equal parts : one for sleep, one for pious duties and one for recreation. Fools sleep for twelve hours instead of eight, but the only result is to induce a heaviness in the members. There is a proper ritual also for eating, drinking, entertaining and other functions of life. At table guests are to be served first ; it is a mark of arrogance to let the dishes be placed in front of oneself before they have been handed to the guests. Service must be speedy, for all bellies are not equal, and when the guests rise from table, big eaters and small alike must have been satisfied.

It is as well to refrain from intoxicants. Thereby one not only earns the reward of virtue here below and in Heaven too, but is saved public disapproval, the society of witless people and much expenditure of money. Should one drink, it is inadvisable to do so immediately after a meal, for that is to act unfairly to the stomach, which is given no opportunity to perform its functions properly. The right time to begin is after the afternoon prayers, so that by the time you have reached intoxication, night will have fallen and your condition will pass unnoticed. The writer's advice to his son is always to drink indoors ; what is permissible under one's own roof may not always be tolerated under the trees in the garden.

With regard to hospitality, it is a good rule not to keep open house, because it is impossible to provide fare suited to one's station every day of the week. To deal fairly by one's reputation, guests should be entertained only at stated intervals. But then, should there be important personages present, the host must not be continually apologizing for the entertainment he offers or saying such things as : " I cannot, of course, provide the fare to which you are accustomed," or " I hope next time to

provide something better than this," or the like. That is the kind of behaviour suited to tradesmen and people unaccustomed to entertaining guests.

And lastly, since men are accustomed to the daily eating of food, they become connoisseurs of cooking. As an offset, therefore, to any shortcomings in the dishes provided, wine and music should be of the best ; they will cover a multitude of defects in the food.

When dealing with the question of pastimes, the author counsels his son never to gamble with drunken, quarrelsome or morose companions if he wishes to avoid unpleasantness, and never to dispute over the throw of the dice. If he plays chess with a person of importance, the distinguished opponent must always be allowed the first move. Polo is not a game to play too often ; and when playing, one should keep in the rear in order to avoid the scrimmage and possible injury. Riding and hunting are the pursuits of gentlemen, but one ought not to ride recklessly in pursuit of wild beasts ; you gain nothing and merely expose yourself to danger. Let your retinue forge ahead if necessary, except when princes or other important persons are of the company, in which case it is permissible with a view to acquiring a reputation and bringing oneself to their notice. In general, the nobleman's object in the chase is the sport and not the meat.

The serious question of advising his son upon the choice of a career, provides the author with the opportunity for ranging over a wide field, although he lays most stress upon the importance of acquiring wealth. His philosophy is one of caution there as in all activities. "Do not be indifferent to wealth," he says, "but do not run into danger for its sake." Once you have secured it, hold it tight and do not squander it ; never spend it when you can gain your objective by the use of fair words or cajolery. They cost nothing. And it must be remembered at every turn that the man who is without money is also without the respect of his fellows, whereas the common run of mortals dearly love a rich man even though they have no expectations from him. Yet though poverty is the worst of misfortunes, superfluity of wealth may have its drawbacks : oil keeps the lamp alight, but extinguishes it if it overflows the wick.

If you need the assistance of agents in the management of your affairs, never repose absolute confidence in any individual, especially avoiding gamblers and drunkards. As for your money, dispose of it in this fashion : use one-third for the purposes of the household, one-third for the purchase of jewelry and ornaments that will not lose value or wear out, and the last third bury. Neither borrow nor lend ; at all events do not lend to friends, for it is harder to obtain repayment from them than

from anyone else, and loans to friends are a sure way of destroying friendship.

A sidelight on the method by which society, before the age of banks, contrived the safeguarding of valuables is provided by the chapter on deposits. The persons who undertook to take charge of an article for safekeeping while friend, neighbour or client went on a pilgrimage or was compelled to be away from home for some other reason, bound himself to restore the article intact. He was under a solemn obligation so to do, but even in that matter our author sees that honesty is the best policy. "A reputation for honesty," he declares, "is as good a money-maker as the Philosopher's Stone."

Commerce is the obvious means of obtaining wealth directly, even though voyaging abroad may involve personal risk and unpleasantness and is therefore to be avoided if possible. Capital should not be ventured if it means hazarding more than one-third of one's possessions. Commerce should be on a large scale and bargaining should be hard, otherwise half the value of trade is lost. Never do business on credit; at all events, never with *Saiyids*, *nouveaux riches*, the agents of *qadis* or, lastly, with children.

After commerce come what be called the learned professions as means of earning a livelihood, namely astrology, the composition of panegyrics in the service of wealthy patrons, minstrelsy, law and the *qadiship*. Towards these the author has a detached attitude, regarding them as productive of little reward in this world, although their fruits may perhaps be enjoyed in the next. If it is necessary to acquire mundane wealth, learning had better be combined with the practice of a profession, the subject-matter and rules of which must be learned to perfection. Thus, in medicine, only the best and most famous authorities should be consulted and in astrology, when omens are to be interpreted or horoscopes cast, the preliminary observation of stars must be exact and all mathematical calculations accurate.

Discretion must always be exercised. The jurisconsult must never condemn lightly, especially when capital punishment is in question. He must call no man an unbeliever simply for sectarian zeal, for unbelief signifies hostility to the faith as a whole and not the fact of adherence to a particular sect. A point worthy of mention is the caution that no book or piece of learning should be pronounced heretical merely because it is unfamiliar to the *mufti*; not everything of which he is ignorant is necessarily misbelief.

These are the ideals to be aimed at. True, however, to his purpose of stating the facts as he finds them, the author tells his son what he has found by experience to be the actual practice of professional men. For

example, the astrologer must embellish his interpretation of omens and his horoscopes with glamour and mystery or be condemned to starvation. The doctor, similarly, is likely to have no livelihood unless he indulges in quackery, manipulation and general bolusmongering. But it is on the function of the preacher that the author of the *Qābūs-nāma* throws the hardest light. He assures his son that the preacher may say anything he wishes from the pulpit, congregations being composed of nothing but stupid brutes.

An essential thing to remember is—never to engage in argument from the pulpit. Further, every point in a discourse can be sure of its effect if the preacher has a number of disciples scattered amongst the congregation to applaud loudly at intervals and keep the assembly “warm.” The preacher must at the same time study his audience carefully and judge what appeals to them. And, if he is ever at a loss how to continue, he need not be flurried. All he then needs to do is to break into prayer or recite the creed.

We now come to what the author appears to regard as the crux of his work and to understand best, namely the service of princes. More urgently than anywhere else the necessity there is to tread warily. Should the king ever declare that your position with him is entirely secure, that is the moment to begin to feel unsure; you are not fattened unless you are shortly to go to the slaughter. Do not persist in argument with the king; it is proverbial that those who do so die before their allotted time. Position rather than money is what should be looked for in service under the crown—but wealth comes running in the train of such office. Should you become obese in office, have a care to show a lean front to the world if you wish to avoid jealousy. If you have the disposal of appointments—a privilege which is one of the sweets of office—never grant them to the impecunious. Whatever you do, do not bind the tax-gatherers’ hands too tightly; your kebab will remain uncooked for ever if you begrudge the fire a little fat.

A ready wit in the royal service will sometimes gain you a point when other things fail. In illustration we are told the story of an officer who was being sent by his prince, the Amir Fazlun, to Arran in the Caucasus during the height of summer. He asked to have his departure postponed to the wintertime because the place was so insalubrious in the hot weather. “What is the use of arguing in that fashion,” the prince demanded. Surely, no man dies before his allotted time?” “What your Majesty says is the essence of the truth,” replied the officer, “but no man goes to Arran unless his time has arrived.”

If you become secretary to the king, you had better conceal any skill for penmanship you may possess, if you wish to escape the reputation of

being a forger. Such skill can be of very real service in an emergency, and should be reserved for one. The benefits may then be substantial.

If one ever attains to the rank of vizier, it is best even then to adhere to a policy of honesty, and it is wisdom to allow the king all that is rightfully his. "Do not covet all for yourself," the author advises. "It will not be permitted you. And if you should swallow it all, cling to the morsel with two fingers." When advising the king on a policy, it is advisable to remember that good order and sound administration are secured through the army; the army is maintained by means of gold, which is derived from agriculture, which in its turn depends on the peasantry.

Among the physical qualities demanded of the vizier are these: that he should be imposing in appearance, strongly built of corpulent person and have a heavy beard. A short lean man in a black beard lacks impressiveness.

The ultimate objective to strive for is, of course, the kingship. Once that is attained, one must make it a rule never to act in haste. One should speak seldom and rarely be seen in public. That is conducive to maintaining one's dignity at a high level. When dealing with his vizier, the king should be strict, consulting him but, before acting on his advice, ascertaining where his personal interests lie. By such methods the vizier can be prevented from coming to regard the king as part of his own private domain.

Yet the king should normally grant the vizier full authority to carry out plans agreed upon, should be generous to him and also to his kinsmen in respect of pensions and allowances. But he should never permit them to hold public office; the whole of the fat tail may not be given to the cat at one meal.

In a lengthy final chapter the author deals with the codes of conduct and ethics of a number of trade-associations or guilds, of Sufi fraternities and of a loosely-organised body professing "chivalry," which is an approximate rendering of the Persian *javan-mardi* or the Arabic *futuwwah*. This body appears to have consisted of men of the Robin Hood way of life, whose special characteristic was an adherence to the strict letter of the truth.

Throughout the whole work there are scattered proverbs and aphorisms of the kind for which Persian is famous, but there is in addition a whole chapter devoted to what are called: "The Counsels of Nushirwan the Just." They are brief and pithy sentences embodying the wisdom of expediency and touching on every side of life. A few of the less conventional ones may serve to epitomize the ideals of the *Qābūs-nāma*

and incidentally provide some guidance to modes of thought by no means rare in Persia today. Thus :

As long as day and night succeed one another, do not marvel at the passage of the years.

Why do men repeat those acts which they have already had occasion to regret in the past ?

If the servant never transgressed, the masters' pardon would remain uncreated ; and if you exact retaliation, what place is there for the exercise of clemency ?

Never ask a favour of a mean and close-fisted man while he is sober. Such men are generous in their cups, though they may regret their generosity the next day.

If you are a poet, do not indulge in satire ; the pitcher does not always return unbroken from the well.

It is labour wasted to teach a man who refuses to learn from experience.

It is harder to protect a fool from himself than from anything else.

If you wish to be wise, behold yourself in the mirror of other men.

Beware of the fool who thinks himself wise.

Do you wish your enemy to remain ignorant of your secret ? Then do not reveal it to your friend.

Better drown than ask help of a frog.

Better a worldly man who is humble than an arrogant pietist with his eyes fixed on the next world.

There is no greater fool than he who persists in treating an acquaintance who has risen from humble circumstances in the same manner after as before his advancement.

REVIEWS

THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF THE INDIAN STATES AND OF THEIR SUBJECTS, or
THE TRUTH ABOUT THE INDIAN STATES. (The Good Companions; Shivaji Road,
Baroda). Rs. 8/8/-

By R. K. RANADIVE, M.A.

Down the ages, the political pattern of the Indian sub-continent has been a mosaic of small kingdoms. It is true that from time to time, as a result of war, larger units have been built up : thus at long intervals empires have developed in the North, most of them of short duration. No great power lay in the path of the invasion of India in 326 B.C. by Alexander the Great : Muslim invaders from the 11th century A.D. onwards were equally fortunate. A dozen or so war-lords were fighting for the spoil of the dying Mughal Empire when, from the middle of the 18th century, the British began to develop military predominance in the sub-continent. In the following century, up to the Mutiny, British-India was built up by cessions of territory, annexations, and conquests. With the surviving political units, treaties were concluded, which, in most cases, established a British protectorate. An inevitable corollary of the system thus set up, was the paramountcy of the Crown, under which the British-Indian Government, as its representative, took charge of the foreign relations of the rulers. The Crown claimed the right to interfere to prevent mis-government on the ground that it was likely to have prejudicial reactions on the system of defence. The position that ultimately developed is shown in the response of the Viceroy in 1926 to the Nizam's claim to the restoration of the Bexars which emphatically laid down that the British Crown was supreme in India and no ruler could claim to negotiate with it on equal terms.

The Indian Congress always expected the mantle of paramountcy to fall on its shoulders once it had ousted the British or induced them to retire. The Indian Independence Act, passed in July, 1947, abolished paramountcy, abrogated the treaties, and gave back to the states their original independence. They could elect to stand on their own or accede to either dominion.

This to all intents and purposes, meant the doom of princely India. It was well known that paramountcy or no paramountcy, the Congress party intended to take the place of the British in its relations with the states. There was no cohesion among the princes, in many cases their position had been weakened by Congress intrigue ; they had little popular support. Confronted in such conditions by the splendid army the British had bequeathed to Pandit Nehru and his colleagues, they had no alternative but to accede. At the outset, Congress was satisfied with accession in the three subjects of foreign affairs, defence and communications. This forbearance was, however, of short duration. Congress soon found possible a more comprehensive policy which involved the grouping of the states into provinces : some states, for example, Baroda, the Eastern States, the Maratha States of Bombay, etc., were merged into the adjacent Indian territory : in all units, Congress Governments were set up. Later on a scheme of financial merger was introduced which, in most cases, meant much heavier taxation and appropriation by the Centre of funds, e.g., income-tax, previously spent in the states themselves. As Sirdar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, whose strong arm was largely responsible for bringing about the princely downfall, said at a public meeting in Gwalior the other day : " We have taken power from the rulers and given it to the people." He might have added that the States Ministry was pressing on with its policy of the integration and democratization of the states. That his policy has not always been a success, is shown by the fact that the Congress Ministries he has set up, have squabbled among themselves : in some cases he has threatened to displace them and take over the administration.

British abrogation of the treaties and Congress policy towards the Indian states, are challenged in a recently published book by Mr. R. K. Ranadive as illegal. The argument briefly is that the relations of the Indian rulers with Britain were governed by international law : thus paramountcy had no legal basis. It follows that the British encroachments on the sovereignty of the states could not be sustained : they recovered their international position on the British withdrawal ; they are still entitled to it despite their accession brought about by coercion. This being so, the princes, if they choose, are entitled to appeal to the United Nations for re-instatement in their former position.

But are we not up against a *fait accompli* brought about if you like by *force majeure* ? Whether the international argument has any validity or not, ostensibly the changes have been brought about with the rulers' consent : *prima facie* they are for the benefit of their people and the United Nations, even if it regarded itself as legally seized of the case, would hesitate

to suggest a revision. The case of Hyderabad, it may be noted, is on a somewhat different footing. There the Indian Government took military action. The case is on the agenda at Lake Success and will doubtless be argued before the Council. It is, however, very unlikely that any kind of action will be taken.

The author, one must conclude, is sponsoring a forlorn hope. The truth is that the princes are themselves mainly responsible for their troubles. Had they forgotten their jealousies and built up a federation of groups of states very much on the lines followed by Congress, and at the same time set up a system of constitutional government, they might have survived, possibly as a separate dominion, or as a unit in an Indian Federation.

Many will regret the abrupt severance of the links with ancient tradition : some will agree with the view expressed by a well-known Hindu liberal : " They (Congress) might," he wrote, " have allowed the states to develop on their own lines and form units of the Federation. No, they must make India a single pattern on western lines."

Thus as in the past, a great new Hindu Empire has been set up, extending this time through the whole of the South of the sub-continent. Will it endure ? Apart from the clouds over the international horizon, one might, perhaps, say, that the omens are more favourable than in past ages. Much will depend on whether the present rulers succeed in welding adverse elements into a firm structure and place democratic Government on a sound foundation.

WILLIAM BARTON.

AL AZHAR : THE MOSQUE AND UNIVERSITY

By A. A. ATEEK

Issued by the EGYPTIAN EDUCATION BUREAU

WHEN DEALING with venerated monuments which have stood the stress and storm of time, comparative dates can be interesting.

The University of Oxford was founded during the XII Century. Cambridge, the Sorbonne and Bologna University in Italy followed a century later. Heidelberg in Germany was founded in 1386 : St. Andrews in Scotland and Upsala in Sweden date from the XV Century : Trinity College, Dublin from 1591 : and, in America, Harvard from 1656 and Yale from 1718. All these great centres of learning in the West are alive in all our minds. But an older University than them all—Al Azhar in Cairo—is hardly known at all in the West. And that is why Mr. Ateek's attractive booklet is so timely today. It is easy to read and full of information and it will, it must be hoped, have a wide circulation in schools and libraries.

Al Azhar dates from 971. The Mosque was founded by the first Fatimid Caliph, Al Muizz, and its name comes from Al Zahra, the name by which Fatima, the daughter of Mohamed, was known. From her the Fatimid Caliphs claimed their descent. Al Muizz was succeeded by the Caliph Al Aziz ; and he it was who in 989 expanded the functions of Al Azhar Mosque and made it a centre of religious teaching which in the thousand years of its virile academic performance has earned for it the claim to be both the University of Islam and the unfaltering guardian of the Arabic language at its best. Saladin in the XII century staffed the new schools which he founded, with teachers from Al Azhar. The Ayyubids and the Mamelukes who also founded schools, brought them under the aegis of Al Azhar under whose jurisdiction they have remained down to this day. Under the Turks the University, like all things Arab, suffered three centuries of eclipse and neglect. Then, during his short sway in Cairo, Napoleon gave it a new lease of life ; and when Mohamed Ali the Great, the founder of the present Royal Egyptian Dynasty, became Egypt's Viceroy in 1805, Al Azhar's renaissance went from strength to strength. For Mohamed Ali had set himself to create Modern Egypt and one of the main agencies of his programme was Al Azhar. From its students he chose the first group which formed his schools of medicine and law ; and others went to Paris with his first educational mission. Mohamed Ali was the pioneer of modern methods for Egypt.

But there were those in high authority in Al Azhar who were not ready for modern methods. They clung to the narrow principles of a past that was fast disappearing ; and for many years the progress of reform was slow and precarious. Then, just over fifty years ago, the great Sheikh Mohamed Abdu, became the Rector of the University and to him is due the passage of the famous law of 1895 for the formation of an Administrative Committee for Al Azhar. This law gave Mohamed Abdu the mandate for his reforms. First he regularized adequate scales of pay for his teachers. Then he improved the living conditions of the students. Next he re-organized the administrative staff and gave them proper conditions of work and proper

offices to work in. And having put his house in order administratively, he proceeded, with the collaboration of the teaching staff, to reorganize the University's curriculum on xx century lines to meet xx Century needs. He lived to see his work beginning to take root. And he had planted well. For since his death in 1905, progress on the lines he conceived, has been steady and remarkable. The University is more than ever the fountain of Moslem religious learning. Its students preach in ever increasing numbers all over the Islamic world. Its library of Arabic literature remains the best in the world and its teaching of the purest Arabic still sets the standard throughout Islam. And one remarkable innovation has recently brought Al Azhar into a touch with the world at large which it did not enjoy so long as its teaching was exclusively Arabic. For since 1935 the study of foreign languages has become an accepted feature of higher education at the University. Another innovation--admittedly on a much lower level-- has been the provision of coaches for all sorts of sport, football, basket-ball, and the like and the renting of playing fields and clubs. And these recreational facilities are for the students not only in the Faculties but also in the Religious institutes.

To-day the number of students at Al Azhar is over 18,000. Most of them are Egyptians but there are also foreign Moslem students from over thirty countries ranging from South Africa to Poland and from Java to Nigeria.

Mr. Ateek is to be congratulated on an excellent little book. He has told as about his own University and has "put it on our map." And the beautiful illustrations of its buildings will bring back happy memories to many of us from the West who, from time to time, made Cairo our home and knew and loved the slender grace and the delicate line of Arab architecture at its best.

OWEN TWEEDY.

THE ART OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN. A commemorative catalogue of the Exhibition held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1947-8. Edited by Sir Leigh Ashton, F.S.A., with contributions from Professor K. de B. Codrington, Basil Gray, John Irwin and Graham Reynolds. (*Faber and Faber*,) 4½ guineas.

This book is a commemorative record of the Exhibition of Indian Art held at the Royal Academy, 1947-8. It is a sumptuous production, with nearly three hundred illustrations, including a number of coloured plates. These cover the whole range of the objects exhibited, and more than fifty are devoted to sculpture and seventy-five to painting. The remaining are of bronzes, textiles and the minor arts. The book includes a number of introductory essays by recognized experts. Professor K. de B. Codrington of London University deals with Sculpture; Mr. Basil Gray, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, with Indian Painting; and Mr. John Irwin of the India Museum, South Kensington, with textiles and bronzes. Mr. Graham Reynolds, Deputy Keeper of the Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design, describes the British artists who came to India at the end of the eighteenth century. Their work, though not comparable in aesthetic interest with the great achievements of the Indian sculptors, has an illustrative and artistic value of its own.

As Sir Leigh Ashton says in his preface, it had long been the ambition of many people to organize an exhibition of this kind, but it had always been abandoned owing to the difficulties of transporting the sculptures. Now for the first time the public has been able to see a number of masterpieces generally inaccessible, and the scholar has had the opportunity of studying at first hand works of art hitherto only available in photographs. The volume will serve as a permanent memorial of an undertaking which ranks in importance with the earlier exhibitions of Chinese and Persian Art held at the Royal Academy, and is a notable contribution to the study of Indian Culture.

H. G. R.

THE STAKES OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By H. J. VAN MOOK. (*Allen and Unwin*) 15/- net.

The opportune appearance of this brilliant book coincides with the publication of the Report of the Commonwealth Conference which formulated the "Ceylon Plan" and should be read alongside it. So closely does the "Ceylon Plan" correspond to Dr. van Mook's conception

outlined in his concluding chapter on "Voluntary Association in Southeast Asia" that one might easily suppose him to have been a participator in the discussions which led up to it. His theme has its text in his final sentence—"we can still make up as friends for what we left undone as rulers"—and it was this mental kinship with the British approach to Southeast Asian nationalism which led ultimately to his breach with the home Government in Holland. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this trenchant analysis of the contemporary scene in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indochina, Malaya and Indonesia is the complete absence, not merely of rancour, but even of nostalgia for a past with which he was so deeply associated. For this book is pivoted on the future, not the past. Its most important chapters are those (1, 2, 3, 4, 12 and 14) which discuss problems common to the area as a whole. These six essays, and particularly those on "Imperialism at the Flood" and "The Birth of Nationalism," are conspicuous for their originality, freshness and perspective which gives them a classic quality. So comprehensive and at the same time so succinct a survey of so vast a scene could only have come from the pen of one whose life had been spent in it, yet it is rare for even one of the most distinguished colonial administrators to display such power of detachment from the values and prejudices current during his term of office. That the "Ceylon Plan" is of British inception is a legitimate source of pride, yet it cannot and will not attain more than a fraction of its proclaimed purpose unless and until it becomes international in composition. For this it would require the participation of the non-Commonwealth countries in Southeast Asia—the Associated States of Indochina, Siam, Burma and Indonesia—and if possible the former Colonial Powers of the West—the United States, France and the Netherlands. Should such an extension of the embryonic Technical Assistance Bureau become possible, there is no individual European more eminently equipped, in knowledge, experience and temperament, to serve upon it than Dr. van Mook himself. The chapters dealing with post-war events in Indonesia while Dr. van Mook was Lieutenant Governor-General are less interesting though will probably be most read. His sense of loyalty prevents him from revealing the increasing divergence between himself and the Government at The Hague where every agreement which he negotiated at Batavia (now Jakarta) was no sooner received than torn up. The text of the Inverchapel Agreement of April, 1946, the one occasion when a genuine compromise was possible, is here published for the first time (pp. 222-3).

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search of conquest; Asoka and
Akbar defended them against the
'barbarians' from the north. As
successors to the Moguls came the
British, to control for 150 years the
north-western defences of India,
whose outer bastions are Afghanistan
and the mountains of the Hindu
Kush. Now the British have gone,
and again the question arises: Who
will control this vital range and
command the approaches to India—
Afghans, Pakistanis, Indians, or—
'barbarians' from the north?

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THE COLOMBO PLAN FOR SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By A. C. B. SYMON, CMG, OBE.

(ASSISTANT UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS)

I AM DELIGHTED to have an opportunity this afternoon of talking to you about what, for short, is known as the Colombo Plan. Its full title is "The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia." Although the title is long, it has the merit of describing exactly what the Plan is about.

This is no ordinary plan. It is an imaginative and vitally important work which, if carried through successfully, will have far-reaching results not only in the area to which it directly refers, but throughout the world as a whole.

The idea was launched at the meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers held at Colombo almost exactly a year ago. The inspiration came from Mr. Spender, the representative of Australia, Mr. Jayawardene, the representative of Ceylon, and our own Foreign Secretary. Because of that initiative and of the great and growing interest which Ceylon is taking in the Plan, it is a happy circumstance that we have Sir Oliver Goonetilleke as our Chairman today. Since January, 1950, this historic and inspired idea has been developed at meetings held in Sydney last May and in London in September. Those meetings were attended by representatives of Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom.

LATER DISCUSSIONS

While the report produced at the September meetings is primarily devoted to Commonwealth countries, it is not conceived in any exclusive spirit. But if any evidence is needed that the British Commonwealth remains one of the most potent forces for advancing human progress, then that evidence is provided by this Plan.

The Governments of Burma, Thailand, Indo-China and Indonesia were invited to take part in the September discussions. Although they did not all find themselves able to participate in the discussions as fully as Commonwealth Governments, they have been given full particulars of the report, and the invitation previously extended to them to join in the work contemplated under the Plan has since been warmly reaffirmed.

Nor is the Plan competitive with other international schemes such as American Point IV Aid or the United Nations Assistance Programmes. The over-riding objective is to make the most effective use of the total resources available ; close liaison will, therefore, be maintained with all other bodies or agencies supplying aid to the area. That area includes Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei, Indonesia and the three associate states of Indo-China. The Philippines have recently been invited to participate.

The report by the Commonwealth Consultative Committee is, in itself, an extremely valuable document in that it draws together so many vivid facts about the area.

RAVAGES OF WAR

There are over 570 million people living in the area. Many of them are skilled in local craftsmanship, but the great majority depend for a livelihood on the land. But not enough land is being cultivated to support so many millions, and those who work it are not trained and equipped to get the best out of the soil. As a result, food is scarce and the standard of life is low.

Living standards would have been low without the last war, but that war has made things worse. Much was destroyed or damaged in the fighting, and under the Japanese occupation large parts of the area were plundered and left to go waste. Railway tracks and engines were removed. Rubber plantations and tea estates were overgrown by jungle. Power stations were driven without proper care and much useful equipment was destroyed. Losses were not confined to those countries which were directly involved in the fighting. The Indian sub-continent served as the great eastern base of the allied armies and its industries, ports and railways were seriously over-worked with the result that at the end of the war there were enormous arrears of repairs and maintenance to be made good. The task of recovery was made more difficult by the political and social disturbances which occurred in many parts of the area after the war.

THE NEED FOR IMPORTS

The countries of South and South-East Asia found after the war that they wanted to import much more from abroad than they were able to pay for out of their own exports. Quite apart from supplies of food and clothing, they were in greater need than ever of machinery, vehicles, iron and steel, building materials, and a host of other capital goods of every description.

To help pay for these extra imports, India, Pakistan and Ceylon were able to draw upon the sterling funds which they had built up in London during the war. Altogether they drew about £340 million in the four years 1946-49. £340 million was much less than these countries could have used, but, even so, it was a heavy burden on this country which, in thus repaying part of our war-time debts, had to supply goods out of our limited production.

For the most part, good progress has been made in restoring production from the low levels to which it fell at the end of the war, though the degree of recovery has naturally varied from country to country.

The problem before these countries is different from that which Western Europe faced at the end of the war. Most of the European countries were already highly developed and it was mainly a question of restoration. The economies of South and South-East Asia, on the other hand, have never been so highly developed and in many cases a new structure has to be built almost from the ground up. A stage has now been reached at which it is possible to plan ahead, but the needs are great and time is short.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

All over the area, populations are growing rapidly—growing by about 20,000 every day. At this rate the present population of 570 millions will have increased to 720 millions by 1970. That will mean an extra 150 million mouths to feed in less than 20 years. In the long run, experience suggests that the most potent way to check population is to raise standards of living. The recent history of the Western world shows this to be true, but it is also happening elsewhere. In East Bengal, for instance, the average size of families tends to be smaller on holdings of ten acres than those of five. It is, however, clear that a great expansion of agricultural and industrial production will be needed to provide for the increase in population, even without any improvement in the standard of living. Unfortunately there is evidence to show that output per head in the area has actually declined over the past ten years; this trend must be reversed and the question is how is this to be done?

The Colombo Plan suggests an answer. In the main it is by the application of modern tools and techniques to enable the land worker to produce more per acre. More factories are needed to make implements and fertilizers. Machines are required to till the soil. There must be more dams to provide water for irrigation and to control floods. The peoples of South and South-East Asia must have more of all these things if they are to win their fight against poverty. They must also develop their

industries, particularly their cottage industries, so that a better balance may be achieved between industry and agriculture and so that productive employment can be found for some of the many millions who are at present employed on the land.

THE INITIAL NEED

The first stages of development are the most difficult and the most costly. Power stations and irrigation works, roads, railways and ports are very expensive things and they take a long time to complete. In recent times, moreover, the private investor has usually been reluctant to put his money into providing basic services of this kind because they take so long to bring a return.

These are reasons why, in the future, the ground work of economic development in South and South-East Asia must be undertaken by Governments. The Governments in the area are doing all they can to find within their own countries the money needed to pay for this development. Other forms of Government expenditure are being cut down; taxes are already very high and are now to be increased, although there is not much scope for getting extra revenue by this means. It must be recognized, however, that the countries of South and South-East Asia can hardly provide out of their own resources for even the bare minimum of development needed to prevent living standards from falling further.

A REALISTIC APPROACH

Those of you who have had the opportunity of perusing the Colombo Plan will be aware that it endorses development programmes covering the six years 1951-1957 which have been prepared by the Governments of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and the Colonial territories in the area. At this stage I ought perhaps to make the point that this new venture is not so much a co-ordinated plan to be operated through a Central Agency, as a collection of development programmes drawn up by free and sovereign Governments (the British Colonies excepted) which will be executed by those Governments and which have for presentational and other purposes been labelled "The Colombo Plan." One of the most striking things about these programmes is the realistic approach adopted; they are in fact largely made up of projects for which detailed plans have already been worked out. The main emphasis is on agriculture rather than on industrial development, but the two often proceed hand in hand. In India, Pakistan and Ceylon, for instance, the generation of hydro-electric power is being combined with irrigation works and flood control in

joint projects for developing whole river valleys. One such project alone on the River Sutlej in India is expected to cost well over £50 million. Naturally enough, the different countries have approached the problem of development in different ways because their needs are different. Because Pakistan has at present little industry her programme puts more emphasis than the others on industrial development. Then again, Ceylon and Malaya are at present exceptionally dependent on the export of a few vital products like rubber, tin and tea and they are aiming at broadening their economies by opening up new areas for production.

AIMS AND COSTS

Let me give you some of the results which are expected from these developments.

An increase of 13 million acres ($3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent) in land under cultivation.

An increase of six million tons (10 per cent) in foodgrain production.

An increase of over one million kilowatts (67 per cent) in electric generating capacity.

The total cost of the development plans of these Commonwealth areas is estimated at nearly £2,000 million. The Governments concerned will do all they can to find within their own countries the money needed to pay for this development. But help is needed from outside since the countries in the area are too poor to provide out of their own resources for even the bare minimum of development to prevent living standards from falling further. The programmes are realistic and thorough and no one can say that they are over ambitious. India, for example, has included only half the projects for which detailed plans have been prepared and Pakistan's programme is limited to about 60 per cent of what its Government originally hoped to achieve. Even so, it is clear that the programmes cannot be carried out as planned unless some help can be obtained from outside. The need for outside help can be divided into two main headings, namely, money and technique.

PAYING FOR THE IMPORTS

As regards money, the Commonwealth countries in the area reckon that over the next six years they will need altogether to import goods to the value of nearly £1,100 million more than they will be able to pay for out of their own current exports. How are these extra imports to be paid for? The Plan sets out five main ways in which the money might be found.

These are, *firstly*, out of overseas assets which the countries in the area themselves possess—in particular the sterling funds which some of

them hold in London. India, Pakistan and Ceylon expect to draw on these funds up to a total of £246 millions during the next six years.

Secondly, out of money put up by private investors abroad for use by private enterprise in the area. It is too early to say how much may be expected from this source. But the opportunities for private enterprise should increase as the development programmes get under way.

Thirdly, out of money lent by private investors abroad to Governments in the area ; for example, by subscribing to loans floated in London and other important financial centres. As is well known, investors in London are being invited to lend money for many other purposes and, in the nature of things, this will limit the amounts that can be borrowed in London by the Governments of South and South-East Asia. There should, however, be scope for raising funds in private capital markets elsewhere.

Fourthly, out of loans from the International Bank for reconstruction and development. This is a very important source of funds. The Bank has already lent substantial amounts to some countries in the area and there is good reason to hope that the Bank will be prepared to consider making further loans for development.

Lastly, out of gifts and loans from Governments outside the area to the Governments inside it. It is very unlikely that the first four sources I have mentioned will provide all the money needed from outside to enable the Governments of South and South-East Asia to carry through their development programmes. Help will, therefore, be needed also from other Governments. The Governments of the Commonwealth countries outside the area are seeing what they can do, but the task is plainly too big for them to tackle alone. The co-operation of other countries is needed too, and it is very satisfactory to know that the Plan is receiving the sympathetic consideration of the Government of the United States of America.

PROVISION OF TECHNICIANS

And now about technique. There is an acute shortage of experts of all kinds in the area, particularly of engineers and agricultural specialists. There are three ways of overcoming this shortage. *Firstly*, by training more people in the area. *Secondly*, by providing training overseas for more people therefrom. *Thirdly*, by obtaining more trained men from abroad.

There are many people throughout the area who are skilled in village crafts and in working as individuals with simple tools. There are relatively few, however, who have had any training in large scale industrial

production or in applying modern techniques to agriculture. It is not simply a question of the top grade expert, Hundreds of these will be wanted, but so too will tens of thousands of foremen and skilled and semi-skilled workers who can best be trained locally. In 1949 there were just over 3,000 universities, technical training colleges and trade schools in Commonwealth countries in the area and they were turning out about 150,000 trained men a year. By 1957 it is hoped to increase the output of trained men to nearly 200,000.

As regards training overseas, the present position is that India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaya are already sending as many of their students abroad as they can afford. But this is not nearly enough and more training facilities must be made available in countries such as the United Kingdom.

Thirdly, the problem of getting experts from abroad. It is impossible to say at this stage exactly how great the demand will be over the next six years, but preliminary estimates suggest that approximately 1,300 overseas experts will be wanted by Commonwealth countries alone if their development programmes are to go forward as planned. This total includes about 750 engineers, 100 agricultural experts and 80 medical specialists. Some of these men will be wanted for three or four years, others for only a few months, but the number required at any one time during the six years may well be anything between 500 and 750. Not all of them will be required from the United Kingdom, but the number is a staggering one.

THE BUREAU

To meet this great need, the Commonwealth countries decided at the Sydney Conference last May to start a scheme for technical co-operation in South and South-East Asia, and agreed to contribute up to £8 million towards its cost over the three years beginning last July. Of this sum, the United Kingdom Government has agreed to contribute up to nearly £3 million. A Council for Technical Co-operation has now been set up to run the scheme and will be assisted by a Bureau with headquarters in Colombo. The Council has had several meetings and has set up an interim organisation to deal with requests for assistance pending the appointment of a Director for the Bureau. A representative of the United Kingdom has been appointed to act as head of the interim organization.

In the main, it will be for the countries in the area to tell the Bureau what they want and for the Bureau to invite countries inside and outside of the area to try and meet the need. In the nature of things, large demands over and above those which we are already meeting will be placed on the United Kingdom. The area will be competing with the

demands for help from other areas throughout the world. There is difficulty in meeting existing demands both for training facilities and for the provision of experts. But given timely warning of the size and nature of the demand, it should not be impossible, with the co-operation of all concerned, to provide more men and additional training facilities. Steps are being taken through the Bureau at Colombo to obtain the necessary information. An expert committee is being set up by the Minister of Labour to consider ways and means of meeting the increased demand on us. A special Department has been established in the Commonwealth Relations Office to receive and process all enquiries received from the Bureau at Colombo. The British Council have offered to assist in every possible way and have agreed to look after the welfare of all trainees who come to this country. Thus the stage has been set and it is now up to the countries concerned to let us know what they want.

MEETING THE DEMAND

The shoe will pinch hardest in trying to meet demands for experts. We live in times of full employment and our own internal requirements are urgent and increasing. Nevertheless a real effort must be made to go as far as we can in helping our friends in South and South-East Asia. Their demands are insistent and urgent. We shall need the widest measure of co-operation if we are not to fail in the task which we have pledged ourselves to assist. One major problem will be to persuade people who are now usefully and profitably employed in this country to go abroad for relatively short periods. Inducement may not be enough. In many cases the people concerned will wish to be assured that their posts in this country are held available for them on their return. Government, educational and technical institutions and industry must be prepared to co-operate to secure that this is possible. It will lead to difficulties and will mean sacrifices, but these must be met and shouldered in order to meet the need.

BOLD AND IMAGINATIVE

In the time at my disposal I have only been able to give you a thumbnail sketch of this new and vitally important plan. It embraces a bold and imaginative campaign of progress. The amount which the countries in the area are proposing to spend on development in the next six years may sound large but it is really small when measured against the needs of the area or against the scale of development in Western Europe or

North America. The Governments concerned are tackling the responsibilities for the well-being of their peoples with energy and foresight. It is clear, however, that even such a limited and realistic programme as I have outlined cannot be carried out unless the countries of South and South-East Asia get help from outside. They need more trained men; more supplies of many different kinds; and more money. If help on the scale required is forthcoming from outside, there is positive ground for hope that the peoples of South and South-East Asia will gradually succeed in winning for themselves a higher material standard of living than they have known in the past. The Governments of the United Kingdom and of the other Commonwealth countries concerned have pledged themselves to use their best endeavours to ensure that the Plan is carried out. This was re-emphasised at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers which was held in London early in the year and a paragraph referring to the Colombo Plan was included in the declaration issued by the Prime Ministers at the conclusion of their deliberations. It reads as follows:

“ We of the Commonwealth recognize that the peace and prosperity of the free world cannot be assured while millions live in poverty. We are therefore resolved, while keeping our own economies strong, to promote economic and social development in the under-developed countries, by providing such financial and economic assistance as we can command and by making full use of our resources of scientific and technical experience. The Colombo Plan is practical evidence of this intention. The Commonwealth countries concerned will continue to contribute, to the full extent of their ability, towards the execution of this and similar schemes for developing economic resources and raising social standards.”

The next step forward will be taken at a further meeting of the Consultative Committee, enlarged to include a representative of the Government of the United States, which will be meeting on 12th February and again we are indebted to the Government of Ceylon for their kindness in agreeing to hold the Conference at Colombo.

A plan for future progress has now been charted. But in thinking of the future let us not forget what has already been done. Over a long period of years and particularly during the last century, this country has sent some of its best administrators, engineers and specialists of all kinds to the area. In co-operation with the United Kingdom investor they have built vital communications; they have created vast irrigation projects which have brought enormous tracts under cultivation; they have kept down famine; and above all they have brought stability.

We can look back proudly on what we have achieved and yet forward to what we can still do for our mutual benefit.

THE FOREGOING LECTURE was given at a meeting of the Association with the Over-Seas League held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W.1, on Tuesday, 30th January, 1951, His Excellency Sir OLIVER GOONETILLEKE, KCMG, KBE, the retiring High Commissioner for Ceylon, presided, and said that there were many things which the United Kingdom possessed that other countries envied and one of these was the great institution described as the British Civil Service. A distinguished representative of that Service was to speak, and he was sure that all who listened would be thankful that they came to do so.

PROBLEMS OF RECRUITMENT

After the reading of the paper, Sir JOHN SARGENT thanked Mr. Symon for his admirably clear and concise summary of the Colombo Plan. Even if he himself struck a slightly despondent note he would assure him that no-one was more convinced than he was of the importance of this Plan or the contribution which it could make to the preservation of world freedom and world peace.

His first doubt was whether it had not come a good deal too late and a still more serious doubt was how it was going to be implemented. He would confine himself to one aspect of the Plan, which he conceived to be perhaps the most important, and that was how to get the "bodies" who would make it work.

Mr. Symon had referred to the recruitment of the necessary experts from outside the countries in question. All would be bound to agree that whatever steps might be taken, and might be taken reasonably soon, to enlarge training facilities inside the countries concerned, and at the same time to increase the number of their nationals whom they sent abroad for training, it would not be an easy matter to step up quickly the supply from these sources. The fact would still remain that a large number of experts would be required from outside if this Plan was going to be put into operation in time. Although Mr. Symon devoted quite a considerable part of his speech to that particular problem, he did not gather that any really practical steps had yet been taken to solve it. He might perhaps be over-emphasizing it, but for the last four or five years as an officer of the Government of India, and subsequently of the British Council, he had had to try to secure experts within a limited field for a number of highly important posts in the countries in question and the results of his personal efforts and even those of the organizations

with which he had been associated had been almost completely negligible. There was no reason to suppose, unless very much more attractive terms than had yet been indicated were going to be offered under this Plan, that the fundamental difficulties up against which he had hitherto come in this connexion would be resolved. How were first class people to be obtained? For only first-class people would do.

During his recent tour in Southeast Asia he had heard a number of rather disconcerting comments on the character of the experts who were being provided at the moment, through International and other agencies, and it would be a great pity if the Colombo Plan got damaged by similar criticism. It was all very well to say that a co-operative spirit must be created. In a period of full employment how could technicians be induced to leave remunerative posts in their respective countries to take up short-term posts such as those contemplated by the Plan? Not everybody was inspired with the missionary spirit of feelings of interest and goodwill, and people with family responsibilities, particularly people in the middle stages of their career—the sort of people most needed—who would be capable of organizing and administering a great operation such as this, would hesitate to risk their future. His experience was that if a man in a good position was asked to go away for one, two, three or five years at the age of 35 he would invariably ask what he would risk losing while he was away. The people needed were those looking for and likely to get promotion; the very best must be sent, otherwise Southeast Asia would not be satisfied and the Plan would not be carried out on the lines or up to the level of its original inspiration. At present there was an uncomfortable feeling that the Plan was being endangered by this failure to tackle promptly and adequately the question of “bodies.”

OVERSEAS SCHOLARSHIPS

Mr. JENKINS (Federation of British Industries) spoke on the provision of training facilities in the United Kingdom for overseas engineering graduates, which had always been a matter of great importance to the Federation of British Industries. Many years ago a scheme was started for training Chinese engineering graduates in this country, which met with quite a measure of success. Unfortunately, the present situation in China did not render it possible to capitalize on what had been done but perhaps this would be possible in the future. The success of that scheme encouraged the Federation to widen it to include students from other countries in process of industrial and economic development.

About two years ago an F.B.I. Overseas Scholarships scheme was produced, as Mr. Symon knew, with the support of H.M. Government,

for training selected students from about 20 countries, both Commonwealth and foreign, which were in the process of industrial development. This scheme had just commenced to operate ; scholarships had already been awarded to a few Chileans and Pakistanis, and it was hoped to make awards in the near future to students from other countries in South and Southeast Asia and elsewhere. The Federation of British Industries welcomed the Colombo Plan very much indeed. They felt they could play a useful part in it and would be glad to place their facilities for works training in the United Kingdom and any other facilities required at the disposal of whoever was responsible for administering the Plan in the interests of technical aid to South and Southeast Asia.

THE INDIAN PROGRAMME

Dr. BHAN (Public Relations Department, India House) said that he thought sufficient publicity had been given to the Plan. At India House a fortnightly journal called "Indian Trade and Industry" was issued and great publicity had been given to the Plan there. He did not think publicity would be a major difficulty.

The Plan had been criticized by many people and difficulties had been pointed out by others, but one important aspect with which India was concerned was that the Plan in India was in a state of implementation. In India the problem of planning had very seriously concerned the Government and the Indian Congress had been tackling it since 1938. During the early days of provincial autonomy there was a National Planning Commission which drafted various schemes which could not be implemented because of the war. In 1945 other schemes were formulated by the Government of India which covered useful exploratory work.

In 1947 the present Government undertook seriously the problems of planning. Early last year a Planning Commission was established and was now at work exploring various fields of economy—agricultural, industrial, transport, social services. The Planning Commission was developing into a very elaborate organization.

Out of about £1,868m. that the Colombo scheme would cost, the Government of India was concerned with £1,379m. He would give some statistics to show what had already been done. The Indian programme in the Colombo Plan visualized an investment of £527m. in transport and communications, including railways, roads and harbours. In India 27 of these projects were in hand and there were 35 more likely to be undertaken. Agriculture would absorb 33 per cent of the total investment. Already there were 104 projects prepared or under implementation, and 27 more were likely to be taken in hand.

In industry and mining there were 21 projects in various stages of implementation and 23 more would be completed in the next six years. Fuel and Power would cost £43m., 27 projects were in hand and two more were likely to be started.

With regard to training facilities six national laboratories had been established so that practical steps were already being taken by the Government of India. Their approach was that difficulties had to be faced and the Government would do its best to implement any plans which were made.

COMPETING CLAIMS

Sir CECIL KISCH (formerly Deputy Under Secretary of State, India Office) said that he had known Mr. Symon in numerous connexions, and would say that he had never travelled along any road without leaving a train of success behind his activities. It was very satisfactory that he should be closely connected with this scheme. This led him (the speaker) to raise some points about the organization of a scheme of this kind. A project of this character formulated in these difficult times, and embracing many countries, in itself created difficulties. There would be competition, there would have to be a sharing out of the limited supplies of materials, plant and people, which would have to be carefully watched. He had had charge of a somewhat large organization during the war and he found that unless there were individuals charged with looking after special things, they were not likely to be done, or would be done imperfectly. He would like Mr. Symon to say something about the organization in the different countries under which the various efforts would be kept going. Work of this kind required people who did nothing else, and who were detached from any other work which might distract them. It required the supervision of people of the quality of Mr. Symon.

Sir John Sargent spoke of the great difficulty of finding men with experience and technique. There again the idea occurred to one whether it was necessary that they should be required for such a short time. Here was a scheme of humanitarian value, the completion of which would probably run into decades, and when the first phase or two had passed there would be other phases to take their place. Was it too much to hope that the co-operation between the friendly nations, linked together in the Commonwealth would ensure that careers might be found for the people in this work? There were other friendly countries, Switzerland, for instance, which did not suffer from the war and from which some experts might be drawn. These were some ideas that occurred to him on the organization and staffing of this great conception. It was a romance of which Mr. Symon had spoken. The story of the romance

would go on for decades and the posts should be staffed by people who could devote their whole life to acquiring an expertise both in the subject matter and in the people with whom they had to deal.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING

In thinking of this one trusted that all disputes, such as at present marred relations between India and Pakistan and might militate against the complete harmony necessary for progress, would quickly be cleared away. Then a completely integrated effort would be possible in the Indian sub-continent. The plan was more far reaching than an economic development. It was a plan for the uplift of whole peoples. Further it was a measure by which Communism could be combated. An object of the scheme was to relieve the age-long poverty of the eastern peoples. Much had been done by the British government in the past to raise the standard of living among the Indian people. The whole of the last century of British rule witnessed the most astounding uplift in all directions. This was a bigger scheme to carry forward the same sort of idea in a wider field, and if that could be achieved one could look forward to Asia, including Southeast Asia, providing a solid bulwark against communism.

On the financial side he was interested to hear what Mr. Symon said about the extent to which the countries possessing sterling balances had drawn upon them lately. He said that £246m. would be drawn in the next few years and the speaker would like to know whether that was expected to exhaust the spendable sterling balances or whether there would still be a large amount which could only be liquidated by unrequited exports from this country. It would be important if possible that some scheme should be worked out between us and the United Nations by which special dollar imports into Colombo Plan areas, possessing sterling balances, might lead to their reduction, because their existence was an obstacle to the strength of sterling, which was a matter of profound concern to all the countries of Asia.

If the right kind of teams could be collected a great deal might be done in five or six years, and when Mr. Symon's progress report was given in a few years time all would hope that he might be able to give an encouraging picture of the start of a great humanitarian endeavour.

FACING DIFFICULTIES

Mr. DAVID GAMMANS, MP, said that he was sure everybody wished to support this Plan and wished it every success. He would call it the Marshall Plan of the British Commonwealth. It was a great pleasure

to him that to a large extent it originated in the action of an Australian, Mr. Spender ; he brought the various Governments down to doing something, and if for future Commonwealth development of all sorts they could get the sort of co-operation which had sprung from the action of an Australian at a conference held in Ceylon it was the best augury possible for future Commonwealth development.

There were two kinds of people who could do harm at this moment, those who just rejected the Plan and those who did not take the trouble to point out the difficulties. This Plan was unfortunately not aimed at raising the standards of living of the people of Southeast Asia, it merely hoped to prevent a further and inevitable fall in the standard of living. That was a most important point. Some of the practical difficulties must be realized. Under this Plan this country was pledged, and quite rightly, to help financially. What did this mean? It was not much good to vote money and think that was sufficient. Steel would be needed, railway locomotives and generators ; also, technicians, engineers, doctors and scientific workers would be required. Had this country at a time of re-armament any spare resources to send to Southeast Asia? Were there any spare generators or motor cars? Even without re-armament it would be difficult for the people of this country to help to a great extent ; with re-armament it was going to be impossible, and in fairness to our friends in Southeast Asia that should be made clear.

What about technicians? Could we, had we, any spare engineers? In the Colonial Civil Service to-day there were nearly 1,000 vacancies for technical men which could not be filled because of lack of applicants. He was all for encouraging Swedes or Swiss or other fortunate neutrals to spend money and men in this admirable way, but to help in this Plan would not be quite so easy as merely voting a sum of money.

The private investor must be encouraged to the greatest extent, and here it was only right one should utter a word of warning to the countries who would benefit. Every time a statesman talked rubbish about the expropriation of foreign assets his chance of getting any more money from anybody went down with a bang. No middle-aged Victorian spinster was half so shy as an investor with money in his pocket. Burma expropriated British and Indian assets when she became self-governing. The Burmese promised compensation, but it would be a very long time before any Burmese Government would attract to that country any more foreign investors.

SELF HELP OF THE BENEFICIARIES

The next thing which the report brought out very clearly was that the effort which the countries themselves must make was far greater than

could be expected from abroad and here there was difficulty to be faced. As one of the previous speakers had pointed out, the political changes in Southeast Asia, necessary as they may have been and the culmination of a long-term policy, have in many respects been disastrous in the economic field. The division of India into two, the increase of population every year of over 5 million had exacerbated this position. It was difficult to keep these numbers alive and to raise the standard of living when the continent was one ; now there was a hidden trade war going on, and 60 to 70 per cent of the budgets being spent on military expenditure, it was a problem without a solution. Until it was faced the Plan could not get very far. The effect of instability in Burma meant that the export of rice, for example, upon which India, if not the whole of Southeast Asia depended, was less than a quarter of what it was in 1938 ; Burma was now importing oil instead of being one of the world's greatest exporters. If there were no political stability, if countries were not on good relations with each other, this Plan could not be brought into operation.

Finally, Mr. Gammans did not believe that any efforts either within or externally could raise the standard of living or even prevent its falling unless something were done about birth control. We could not have hoped to maintain any sort of standard of living in this country if our birth rate had continued at Victorian heights.

THE BEST DEFENCE FROM COMMUNISM

Lastly he did not agree that the scheme in itself would prevent Communism. Though he would certainly agree that a low standard of living encouraged Communism he did not think the other way round was true—that a high standard of living prevented Communism. What made Czecho-Slovakia communist ? It was nothing to do with a low standard of living or lack of democracy. It was the fear of the Red Army. There came a stage in this world-wide struggle when attempts to raise the standard of living, desirable as this might be for its own sake, would not in itself prevent a country being over-run by Communists. A Russian tank could not be stopped by a bowl of rice, a posse of dieticians or the Beveridge scheme : there came a point when one either resisted militarily or gave in.

He was all for the scheme and was not criticizing the idea, but if it were put forward on the grounds that it would stop Communism at this stage, he did not believe it was true.

American help would be necessary, but he would be failing in his duty if he did not point out that any American help likely to be given to any country in the world would have strings attached to it, and these strings

would be the extent to which that country was prepared to support militarily the world-wide fight against communism.

QUESTION TIME

Miss WHITTINGHAM-JONES asked if the lecturer could give any information about the reception of this Plan in the countries concerned. She had been rather taken aback by the nervousness with which it had been received in certain quarters. It was thought to be another scheme to encourage Anglo-American colonialism, and this might handicap Governments from co-operating because of the effect of this idea on the people in the country.

Miss EVELYN GEDGE asked how people wishing to get employment under the scheme could do so. Was there any organization to which they could apply?

Lieut-Colonel G. KEIGHLEY BELL asked if any of the Governments concerned gave any guarantee or forecast of their long-term policies at the Colombo Conference. For example, was anything said about the idea of nationalization in India, or whether the British Government intended to remain in Malaya? These were the sort of things which affected the question of security of personnel and capital and something definite would have to be said before technicians and private investors would be willing to risk their all in these countries.

Mr. FRANK FERRELY said that much had been heard about the standard of living in Southeast Asia, he knew something about this problem in South India and Malabar particularly, and he wondered if any attempt had been made to fix the target of the standard of living which the Colombo Plan either hoped to maintain or to improve upon. Those who had had to deal with the peoples of South India in the last 20 or more years had seen that whilst wages had considerably increased, particularly since 1940, the cost of living had increased to a still greater extent. Those interested industrially in India would agree that the standard of living to-day was lower than it was in 1938-39 although the average of wages earned was very much higher. Unless this was dealt with the whole Plan would end in nothing.

THE BUREAU IN COLOMBO

Mr. SYMON, in reply, said that as he was not a politician he would not be expected to touch the dynamite put down by Mr. Gammans. There were other points he could deal with. He could agree almost wholeheartedly with Sir John Sargent—there was a terrific problem and all

those connected with the development of the Plan, both ministers and officials in Whitehall were conscious of it. The Minister of Labour was to set up a Committee consisting of people in Whitehall connected with the Plan, invitations would be sent to industry, to educational establishments and to the best people who could be attracted to devise how to meet the claim for more people to go abroad when the present jobs could not be filled.

Sir Cecil Kisch raised the question of co-ordination on the provision of expertise and whether there was going to be competition within the area and co-ordination outside the area. A bureau for technical co-operation had been set up in Colombo which was governed by a Council on which representatives of all the countries in the area would sit and a number of countries outside the area so that there was a proper method of co-ordination. With regard to the Plan as a whole it had been developed by a Consultative Committee; until September it was a Consultative Committee of the Commonwealth. Other countries in the area were invited to be present at the discussions, and although they did not take such a full part as the Commonwealth countries they were fully aware of the Plan and its objects. Another meeting of the Consultative Committee was to be held in Colombo next month; all Governments in the area had been invited to attend. Invitations had also been sent to the United States and a representative of the International Bank would be in Colombo. At that meeting it was hoped to build up some continuing machinery which would keep a watchful eye on the whole Plan, probably produce a Report annually which might review the past year and set the pattern for the future. One could be assured that the problem of proper co-ordination was being considered.

He should also make the point that in the main the aid which came from outside the area to these countries would be on a bilateral basis. Continuing machinery would therefore be helpful in co-ordinating the whole field.

Miss Whittingham-Jones asked about the reception of the Plan in the countries. He believed that in the beginning it was received in a rather lukewarm manner but that was because propaganda was not sufficiently developed. It took two months to produce the popular version of the Colombo Plan which had now been re-produced in most of the countries in their own languages. Whether that had helped to create a better atmosphere he did not know.

With regard to individuals who would like to go out, we were pledged to give the help asked for. The Commonwealth Relations Office had set up a Department to deal with all the requests which come to this country. These in turn were submitted to the Minister of Labour, that

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department knew where spare people were available. The most he could do with offers, unless they coincided with a request, would be to send them to the bureau in Colombò.

A very important question was with regard to the policies of these countries, for example the future of Malaya and nationalization in India. The Plan was a six-year Plan only, it was based on programmes and ideas of the countries themselves. There was some reference to the Indian Government's policy on nationalization for the next ten years in the chapter on India in the Report. These questions were not threshed out at the Conference.

The last question related to the target for the standard of living. Mr. Gammans had re-emphasized that it was hoped that the Plan would maintain existing standards. It would be rather optimistic to suppose that within this period, and with the resources which might be available there would be any overall improvement. But it was hoped to hold the line and lay a foundation for the future. That was very important. If this scheme was successfully carried out it would lay a foundation, but the particular problems in mind were the problems of the Governments in the areas themselves, they were not problems with which we could interfere. We could help if our help was called for, and we could support these countries to the extent we are able in money, machinery and technically. If these were applied wisely we might hold the line. It would be optimistic to assume that there would be any major improvement in six years.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Symon for his lecture and to His Excellency the High Commissioner for taking the chair. He hoped it would be agreed that the meeting had been a great success for not only was the lecture successful but a great many questions had been put. The Plan was a great one with far-reaching possibilities, and the results would also be far-reaching if it was not successful. Success was essential, and in spite of the difficulties of which they were all aware every endeavour must be made to ensure that it was successful and that the economic position of the countries of South and Southeast Asia was improved thereby in the next six years.

The CHAIRMAN added that there were two things which the present British Government had to its credit, the grant of independence, and the initiative of the Colombo Plan, and the interest it was taking therein. The bringing of Ceylon to self government was the best job the British had done in any part of the world, and he thought the Colombo Plan would be equally blessed.

SOME AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS OF PAKISTAN

By S. WRIGHT, MA.

CONSULTATIVE ENGINEER TO THE ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

JUST UNDER A YEAR AGO, I was privileged to visit Pakistan with an industrial mission from the United Kingdom, led by Lord Burghley. Our purpose was to explore the steps which might be taken to assist the flow of trade between the two countries, and the ways in which the United Kingdom might help with Pakistan's own schemes for economic development. Among the questions considered was the part that mechanization might play in the further development of Pakistan Agriculture ; and it is mainly with this aspect of the wider subject that I shall be concerned here.

One problem of recognized importance in Pakistan, as in so many other countries both in and outside Asia, is to raise the standard of living of the ordinary man. The solution of this problem must obviously extend in many directions, including power supplies, communications, and industrial development—in all of which Pakistan has laid bold plans and made, already, remarkable progress. But in a country in which something like 90 per cent of the population live on or by the soil, and in which both the main exports and the main raw materials for industry come from the land, the main kernel of the solution must lie in raising the level of agricultural production. What Pakistan's farming accomplishes already should by no means be belittled. She is one of the few thickly-populated countries in the world that manages to feed her own people. She exports wheat and, last year, was able even to export some of the rice that is so vital to Eastern peoples. But her economy depends so largely on agriculture that, in a competitive world, still greater accomplishments are needed.

THE RAISING OF YIELDS

Over the last twelve years, the problem of raising agricultural production has become a familiar one in Britain—although our circumstances are different. Because we are highly industrialized, our efforts to grow more food have always to be made in the face of shortage of rural labour, and as is natural in the circumstances, we turn rather wholeheartedly to farm mechanization. With the aid of mechanization, large areas of neglected land have been brought back into proper cultivation, while still larger ones have been converted from grassland to a more productive arable husbandry. Even so, I doubt whether it could be claimed that,

where good arable farming was practised already, mechanization itself has done much to increase yields.

But in Pakistan, where to displace rural labour, over-abundant though it may be, is the last thing that anyone wants to do—and where, for good reasons, the cultivated area cannot be greatly increased—it is to raise yields that mechanization must be applied, if it is to be applied at all. Pakistan yields are low by almost any standard: even with irrigation, for example, they grow rather less wheat on three acres than we commonly do on one. This is a familiar enough feature of other countries devoted to small-scale peasant farming: and, as is well-known, the causes are many and complicated. Prominent among them, in most such areas, are things like failure to use good seed; failure to maintain soil fertility or texture; failure, in a word, to practice what we call good husbandry. But in the face of long-established custom these things have proved difficult to change. The benefits of change will seldom be immediately obvious to the people concerned; and, on the very occasion that should prove convincing, may be wiped out altogether by some accident of season. Moreover, what *is* good husbandry for these countries has, very often, still to be worked out. It is in these circumstances, and without in any way diminishing the importance of other factors, that it is suggested that some degree of mechanization may offer a more immediate way out.

WEST AND EAST

Pakistan has over 50 million acres of cultivated land and, simply from this standpoint, is nearly as big as Canada. As we have heard already, her agriculture feeds the whole population of over 80 millions: the two main food crops being wheat and rice. It also provides, in the shape of jute, cotton, tea and hides, most of what is exported, as well as the main raw materials on which new industries will be based. The country is in two parts which, in their agriculture, are very different from one another. West Pakistan, with a rainfall which is negligible in some parts, and rarely exceeds 12 inches anywhere, is a dry area in which crop production largely depends on irrigation. But East Bengal—a thousand miles away on the other side of the sub-continent—with an annual rainfall of over 100 inches, must be one of the wettest farming areas in the world. It is here that all the jute and most of the rice are grown; both crops thriving under flood conditions. But the population of East Bengal is so dense that even 18 million acres of rice are barely enough, and some has generally to be bought from farther west.

The whole country is devoted to what, by our standards, is very small-scale farming. In West Pakistan the average holding of a cultivator and

his family is only 8 or 9 acres : in East Bengal it is smaller still—probably no more than 3 acres. An added difficulty, in many areas is, the “ fragmentation ” that comes from the practice of dividing all heritable land equally between the sons of a deceased land-holder. Because of this, even a 3-acre holding may be in half-a-dozen separate pieces, with parts of other holdings in between.

For such work as is not done by hand, draught animals—nearly always oxen of one kind or another—are the only source of power. And since, later on, I may be critical of their performance as farm power units, I should recognize immediately that Pakistan draught animals fill many other roles as well : they tread out all the corn and transport all the produce ; they provide milk on nearly every holding ; and their dung is the main, and sometimes the only, fuel of the countryside.

THE FIVE RIVERS

The lifeblood of West Pakistan farming comes from her five rivers : the Sutlej, the Ravi, the Chenab, the Jhelum—with the Indus into which they flow. In among the four tributaries, mainly in what is called the Colony area of the Punjab is one great network of irrigation canals, while lower down—spreading out from the Indus into the Province of Sind—is another, nearly as large, and destined one day to be larger. Some smaller irrigation areas are served by tube wells, while elsewhere crops are grown, wherever they can be, with the aid of natural rainfall alone. But it is from the main canal zones that the greater part of all crop production comes.

THE PERENNIAL CANALS

The most productive land is that served by perennial canals, from which water can be taken all the year round. On this land, both winter and summer crops can be grown, by far the most common ones being wheat in winter and cotton in summer. The supply of water is not, of course, unlimited—indeed, to use a word more familiar here than it seems to be in Pakistan—irrigation water is rationed so that each holding gets a definite volume in proportion to its size. The ration varies with district and with season, but generally allows each cultivator to plant one-third of his holding with a winter crop, and a quarter of it with a summer crop, the remainder lying fallow. Payment for water is made on a crop-acreage basis, so that if a man chose to plant more than his due share of one particular crop, he would have to pay more for the same volume of water, and also take the risk that it might not be sufficient. The method

of distribution is that the out-falls from the water-courses are opened at intervals to give a definite rate of discharge for a definite length of time. The rest is up to the individual cultivator. He must see that his own ditches are in good shape to receive and convey the water, and must do whatever may be necessary during the watering to control or divert the flow. The intervals are generally arranged so that the land is watered just before ploughing and planting, and on two or three other occasions between then and harvest. In and near the main canal areas are others, served by non-perennial—or inundation—canals, which provide water only while the rivers are in flood. These are used mainly to flood surrounding land for rice growing. In addition to what is consumed in West Pakistan, inundation areas provide the extra rice necessary for East Bengal.

IRRIGATION PROJECTS

Including the areas served by tube wells, just about half of West Pakistan's tillage land is irrigated. The remainder depends entirely on natural rainfall, and can grow only winter crops, for which the land must be ploughed planted immediately after the rains. Where rains are likely to be plentiful, wheat is the main crop. Elsewhere the main crops are millet or grain—a leguminous crop needing relatively little water—of which the seed is used for both human and animal consumption. But yields of rainfed crops are light and uncertain, because the rains themselves are uncertain, and because, even following good rains, there is little enough time to get the ploughing and planting done while the soil is in fit condition. Any method of faster working would make crop production more certain, and might extend the area cultivated.

Much is being done to extend the area under irrigation. In the North West Punjab the Thal Development Scheme is already in process of transforming two million acres of desert into productive land. In a few years time, much farther south, the Lower Sind Barrage will add another two million acres to the farm lands of Sind. Smaller projects, based mainly on hydro-electric schemes, may together add another million or so acres when they are completed. But those will do little more than accommodate the great number of refugee families now overcrowding other districts ; while the limit of extension seems to be in sight. The original plan for the Thal Scheme had to be reduced, because it would have imperilled established irrigation lower down the Indus. There is also the problem of what is called water-logging to be faced. As a result of this, tens of thousands of acres of once fertile land are lost each year because they are becoming salt-ridden.

It is for reasons like these that greater production must come mainly from existing acres, or from new rainfed areas needing more power than is available at present.

FARMING METHODS

West Pakistan farming is very commonly based on share cropping. The exact arrangement varies with district but, usually, the tenant cultivator retains one half of the produce of all the main crops while the zamindar, or landlord, takes the other half. The zamindar provides the land and pays all dues and taxes arising from it, including charges for irrigation water. The tenant, for his part, provides a pair of oxen, with their implements, together with seed and fertilizer, and, with his family, is responsible for cultivating, irrigating and harvesting all the crops. The tenant also gets land and water for small areas of fodder crops for his oxen, and vegetable crops for himself and his family. Whatever the size of the zamindar's estate—and they vary all the way from tens to tens of thousands of acres—the tenant's holding is limited to the area that can be worked with one pair of oxen. In the colony area of the Punjab estates are commonly divided into 25 acre "squares" each accommodating two families. In the province of Sind, where the prevailing system is one of "shifting cultivation," share-cropping tenants cultivate from 15 to 20 acres every year. In the newly-developed area of the Thal, under what is virtually state ownership, the land is divided into holdings of 15 acres. Land which is not farmed through share-cropping is held and worked by what we might call "peasant-proprietors." But, as the overall average of 8 or 9 acres per family will indicate, most of their holdings are smaller even than those just mentioned. In effect, therefore, it is the upper limit of farm size that the capacity of one pair of oxen determines.

With holdings as small as this, individual fields are necessarily very small indeed. In the Punjab, where the 25-acre squares make a fairly definite pattern, the individual tenant's half-square is divided by irrigation ditches into five $2\frac{1}{2}$ acre "fields." Each of these has a "bund" or bank down the centre, so that the two halves can be irrigated separately from the ditches alongside. The unit area for cultivation and cropping, therefore, is a rather narrow rectangular plot of a little over one acre. By contrast with this, the common practise in Sind is to arrange all the cotton land of an estate in one compact block; all the wheat land in a second block; and all the fallow land in a third. Every year these blocks are parcelled out so that each tenant gets six to eight acres of cotton land and eight to ten acres of wheat land. But the blocks are rotated year by year over the whole estate, so that the actual portions cropped

by individual tenants are constantly varying. Under this system, all preparation of the land for planting could be done with the whole wheat or cotton block as the unit area. Outside these two areas there is no general pattern beyond that of an irregular chequer-board, in which some fields are of reasonable size, while some are as small as tennis courts.

PRIMITIVE HUSBANDRY

To western eyes, Pakistan's methods of cultivation appear primitive in the extreme. The land is scratched, rather than ploughed, with an implement of which the operative part is no more than a wooden point tipped with iron. The scratching, or ploughing as it is called, is repeated, and repeated again. The cultivators of one West Pakistan district were criticized because they ploughed only three times in preparation for a cotton crop while, in East Bengal, seven ploughings for jute were commonly mentioned as being the ideal. I doubt whether there is much virtue in the separate workings except that, in one passage, the scratch-plough accomplishes so little. Following the ploughing, the land is smoothed and levelled with a sohaga pulled by two pairs of oxen working abreast. This is just a heavy plank of wood—and the fact that it needs four oxen to pull it is probably one of the reasons why, in the Punjab, tenant holdings are arranged in pairs. On some farms wheat is sown with a primitive-looking, but possibly quite effective four-row drill made entirely of wood; while cotton seed is dribbled by hand down a spout attached to the plough. But on most farms, seeds of all kinds are broadcast by hand.

It is worth noting that, unfamiliar though these methods of working may appear, they really differ only in time from our own. An almost identical scratching plough must have been common enough in Britain at about the time of the Roman conquest, and may well have earned unfavourable comment from generals who had come from the eastern part of their Empire. The wooden drills that I saw in the Punjab might have come straight from the ages of Jethro Tull while, only a generation ago, any of our north country farmers would have recognized in the sohaga the "scrubber" used to level the seedbed for his root crops. It might be concluded from this that present Pakistan methods are not so closely bound up with local circumstances of soil or climate that they cannot be changed.

THE NEED FOR TRACTORS

Between planting and harvest, the fields are weeded, either literally by hand, or with the same hand tool—resembling a broad-bladed

mattock—as is used for all the ditch-digging, bank-building and channel-making that must be done in irrigation. Finally, the crops are harvested by hand, threshed by treading with oxen, and winnowed by throwing the trodden debris into the wind.

The weakest link in this whole chain of events, is obviously, the ploughing. With the implement now used the work is slow, and by no means thoroughly done. In East Bengal, I was told, it commonly takes 12 man-days to plough an acre of land for autumn rice; and up to 17 man-days to plough an acre for jute. At least on the rice land, we should expect a man to do the same work more thoroughly in one day with a pair of horses; or in, at most, half a day with almost any kind of tractor. I realize that this comparison takes no account of the hot climate in which the Pakistan work must be done; yet if, on this account, we cut down by half what man or animal can be expected to accomplish in a day, the work would still be done five or six times more quickly with our horse equipment. I have no corresponding figures for rates of ploughing in West Pakistan, but those for autumn rice, which is planted on dry land, will probably apply equally well to most of the crops grown there.

The benefits of faster working would probably be great and far-reaching. This would certainly be so in rainfed cultivation, where the ability to plant more quickly would extend the area cropped in most seasons, and give greater certainty of an adequate return. According to what I heard from men who know the country and its farming better than I do, there would be advantages of much the same kind on irrigated land too. On an estate in Sind, for example, where the system of shifting cultivation makes ploughing with estate tractors much easier to organize than it would be elsewhere, benefits in a number of directions are claimed. With normal methods, tenants tend always to fall behind with their work: not all of their planting is done to time, while, often enough, weeding is neglected. With tractors the main work is done when it should be and, because it is out of the way, there is more time and energy for the cultivations. Again, with faster working, between-seasons irrigation water can be used to better advantage. With what water is available between the last irrigation of the cotton crop and the planting of the wheat crop green crops could be grown to be ploughed in and improve the soil. There is a direct gain, too, through less water being used to grow fodder for oxen.

THE DRAUGHT OXEN

As regards the thoroughness of the ploughing, I was told everywhere that to cut all the land and turn the soil over—as any modern plough

does, or as even our 17th century wooden plough did—would bring all-round improvement. In the Punjab I was shown an improved local plough—with the beginnings of a wedge shape in its wooden point and slightly more iron on the tip—which went some way, though not very far, in the right direction. It had been known as a better plough for long enough, but all efforts to popularize it had failed, because it could only be used where there were improved oxen. Our 17th century wooden plough, which I mentioned a moment ago, would probably have needed a dozen ordinary Pakistan animals to pull it. Indeed, I was told that whenever iron ploughs for animal draught had been imported—as on many occasions they had been, from Britain and elsewhere—they had proved too heavy for local oxen. Those which I saw being made at the Agricultural College at Dacca would have figured as pony ploughs in a British manufacturer's catalogue, though they were reckoned a full load for two East Bengal bullocks. One firm believer in the worthwhileness of better ploughing, whom I met, has an estate of over 10,000 acres—all under share-cropping. Following smaller-scale experiments which have justified his belief, he now intends to introduce enough tractors to give the whole estate a deep and thorough working once every three years. He will provide the tractors, and arrange for the work to be done, as an estate service, at a cost to the tenants sufficient only to cover fuel, because he feels quite sure that his share of the resulting heavier crop will more than offset his other expenditure.

Examples like this served only to confirm the one main impression that I got from all that I saw and heard in Pakistan: that the draught animal is one of the main factors limiting the productivity of her farming. The traditional pair of oxen controls the size of holding, checks the development of better equipment and, at least in rainfed areas, limits the area cropped; and my conclusion was that, sooner or later, Pakistan must get rid of them.

A CENTRAL EUROPE COMPARISON

May I digress for a moment, to mention a similar instance, much nearer home, that I happened to be concerned with in a minor way some years ago, on the small peasant farms of Central Europe. Here the peasants are the victims of a vicious circle of bad husbandry. Too much of their land must be devoted to growing low-grade crops to feed draught animals. Their whole production is barely sufficient for this, and for the maintenance, on a low standard, of their families. There is no saleable surplus to cover the cost of fertilizers, better seed, or any of the things which might raise their farming standards. As in Pakistan, even

the dung from the animals has to be burnt as fuel. On farms like these production falls, inevitably, to something like the level of the classical plots at Rothamsted where no fertilizers have been applied, nor any improvement effected, for more than a century. If the circle of cause and effect could be broken the productivity of the farms might be doubled ; yet how can it be done, except by getting rid of the draught animal altogether ?

The parallel between Central Europe and Pakistan is not at all a close one. Pakistan farming is not at the subsistence level—indeed, as we already know, she produces a very considerable surplus for sale—nor, perhaps do oxen figure as prominently there as consumers of food. Yet, there too, the problem of raising production and living standards means breaking into something like a vicious circle—not the same circle by any means—but, none the less, one which must be broken somehow. In theory, much might be accomplished by introducing better animal-drawn tools, with better animals to draw them. But the hot climate itself is probably the basic reason why the capacity of Eastern draught animals is so much lower than that of Western ones ; while even if this were not so, how many generations would it take to breed and popularize stronger ones ? It would be equally difficult and, in a widely-scattered and largely illiterate community, might take even longer, to bring about general recognition of any of the other improvements in farm practise that any experienced agriculturist could recommend. I can well imagine, for example, how reluctant a small farmer would be to find money, or to pledge part of his crop in payment, for better seed instead of sowing, as he had always done before, what he had saved from his own harvest. He would see no immediate return for his money and, because of all that might happen in the meantime, might never do so in an unfavourable year. But if the same man saw his neighbour complete in one day what would involve him in another nine or ten days' toil, I think he would soon be impressed. And if his neighbour then offered to do the same for him at cost no greater than the cost of what he ordinarily does with his own oxen, I think he would probably jump at the opportunity. Moreover, following such an experience he might be readier in the next year to listen to his neighbour's views on better seed or something else.

Nor, as regards cost, is this an entirely fanciful idea. A recent Pakistan estimate, based solely on family costs of subsistence, puts the cost of a man's work at about 1 rupee 12 annas per day, and that of a bullock at 1 rupee. This would bring the average cost of ploughing an acre by present methods to something like 38 rupees—or a little more than £4. It would have to be quite exceptional ploughing to cost as much in Britain. It may seem curious in a country which tends to regard a five

acre field as something of a hindrance to mechanization, to be advocating its trial in fields only a quarter as big ; but the standard of comparison—with our horses in the one case, and Pakistan oxen in the other—is quite different. Moreover, anyone who thinks that an ox team is handier than a tractor for a small area should go and see for himself. I saw modern tractors with mounted implements working alongside oxen, and they looked much as ballet dancers would do alongside heavy-footed policemen.

FARMER CONTRACTORS

I am, of course, not advocating anything like what we should call complete mechanization. I have only mentioned ploughing so far, but wherever tractors are used for this, they are likely to be used also for harrowing or levelling the land, and for seed-sowing. For one thing, unless this is done, the number of oxen needed will be hardly reduced at all, so that nothing like the full economy of mechanical power will be realized. For another, wherever greater timeliness is among the advantages to be gained, it is the sowing of the seed that needs to be rightly timed. But in a country in which there is abundant labour, and practically no risk of losses through bad weather, to attempt to mechanize crop harvesting would be ridiculous ; nor is there need to mechanize the hand work in between.

If the potential advantages of mechanical power in cultivation are accepted, the difficulties of realizing them in Pakistan should not in any way be minimized. Where the man who actually tills the soil has only a few acres, only the co-operative use of equipment can bring widespread progress. One form of this, already noted, is the provision of estate equipment by the more enlightened zamindars ; though how many there are, or what proportion of the country they would represent, is quite unknown. Probably the most fruitful line of advance would be the establishment of what we should call farmer-contractors : the man who has more equipment than he needs for his own holding—and any Pakistan tenant with a tractor would be in this position—and who uses its surplus capacity to do work for his neighbours. But I have no idea what the most effective solution would be, and suggest only, that to find out by further enquiry would be very well worth while.

Another difficulty, not on any account to be under-estimated, will arise from an almost complete lack of machinery-mindedness in the rural population. But I saw nothing to suggest that a Pakistan peasant would not learn as readily as anyone else, if he was convinced that his pocket would benefit ; and I see no reason why a bold enough educational plan should not remove the difficulty altogether.

The broad problem I have tried here to outline is not peculiar to Pakistan. It extends all over Asia ; and if and when it is solved, the World will be a far happier place. But we have close ties with Pakistan and a special interest in her welfare, and if from our experience we can help with the planning, with the equipment, or with the training of personnel, I hope we shall be ready to do so.

His Excellency Habib Rahimtoola, High Commissioner for Pakistan, presided when the foregoing paper was read at a joint meeting with the Royal Society of Arts on Thursday, February 8th, 1951. He said that Mr. Wright was Agricultural Adviser to the Ford Motor Car Company, and also Consulting Engineer to the Royal Agricultural Society. He had been Director of the Institute for Research in Agricultural Engineering, University of Oxford, and was the first Director of the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering. He was the author of many papers on engineering research and mechanised farming. He was a member of the Industrial Mission from the United Kingdom which visited Pakistan some months ago under the leadership of Lord Burghley. 82 million persons lived in Pakistan, and eight out of every ten of them depend upon agriculture. The subject, therefore, is of vital importance to that country.

PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT PLANS

After the reading of the paper the CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Wright on behalf of all for his very interesting and instructive lecture. He added: My Government recognize that agriculture must continue to be the main occupation of the people, and the first objective of their development programme is to increase production of food and other important crops. Agriculture gets the largest share of the expenditure that we have proposed in our plans.

Roughly a hundred miles from the mouth of the Indus a great barrage is being built across the river. There will be forty-four spans of sixty feet each, and the water will be fed off to irrigate an area of nearly three million acres. Over five hundred miles away in the West Punjab another seven hundred thousand acres are to be irrigated by means of eighteen hundred tube wells, which will be worked by electricity generated from a new hydro-electric plant as at Rasul. This same project will also help in draining the water away from large areas nearby, which are at present waterlogged.

These are the two largest schemes in Pakistan's agricultural programme ; there are also many smaller ones for improving the methods of cultivation, and providing better seeds and fertilisers and making more use of

machines on the land. The objective is a rise of one third in agricultural output by 1957, with particularly large increases in food crops produced for sale. Production of oil seeds will also be increased by about 220 per cent, fruits by 90 per cent, sugar cane by 70 per cent, vegetables by 68 per cent, cotton by 27 per cent, cereals and pulses by 17 per cent and jute by 10 per cent. From October to December, 1950, a training institute on Economic Appraisal of Development Projects, Asian centre, and on Agriculture and Allied Projects was held in Lahore under the joint sponsorship of the Government of Pakistan, the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, the United Nations including the Economic Commission of Asia and the Far East, and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. The training covered the principles and practice of formulating development projects in agriculture, and related to the field of appraising their economic feasibility.

The Food and Agricultural Committee of Pakistan also had a four day sitting ending on December 7th, 1950, and approved a number of research schemes in the field of agriculture and animal husbandry which would cost it about fifteen lakhs of rupees.

We are also in the process of setting up an Agricultural Inquiry Committee consisting of about fourteen members drawn from various countries of Europe and the United States of America besides Pakistan. The functions of this Committee will be to investigate the possibilities of, and recommend measures for, introducing modern methods of agriculture in Pakistan, in particular mechanisation, improved methods for the grading and marketing of agricultural produce, the collection of agricultural statistics and the reviewing of facilities for agricultural finance.

Questions were asked by Mrs. A. Collett-Barnes, Mrs. Milford, Lt.-Col. W. N. Bates, Sir Stanford Cooper and Mr. B. M. Lahee.

PRESSURE ON THE LAND

In reply the LECTURER said he had been asked about pressure of population on the land. He did not think this was to be feared because a corresponding pressure was bound to arise in any case. It seemed to him that, for a time, mechanical cultivation would help by applying the present effort so much better—still to the same land. He continued: Most people are behind-hand with their work ; and I think mechanisation would be bound to improve that. I also think, although this is much more speculative, that more adequate cultivation would ultimately increase the efficiency with which irrigation water is utilised ; and over most of Pakistan it is water that is the limiting factor, either irrigation

water or natural water. I am quite sure that mechanical cultivation would make better use of natural rainfall ; and it is quite possible that it would also make better use of irrigation water. In any case, I think the immediate effect of mechanisation will be to alleviate pressure on the land. From a longer term point of view, as I have said, I do not think its effect on the use of the land will matter, because greater pressure in one form or another must come unless the standard of living is raised.

I was asked about raising bacon for export from pigs around Rawalpindi. I cannot remember seeing any pigs round Rawalpindi except at an agricultural college, but I do not see anything wrong with the proposition. The North West is one of the more favourable areas as regards climate, rainfall and everything else—and there would be a much better chance of establishing any form of mixed husbandry there than in the rest of Pakistan.

I can think of no happier modern equivalent of beating swords into ploughshares than to use the training establishment of mechanised regiments to train agricultural workers. It is an excellent idea and, in fact, there is so much training to be done and, necessarily for the time being so few facilities for doing it, that the right course is to start something wherever there is anything at all to work with.

FOLLOWING THE PLOUGH

Mr. E. N. GRIFFITH : Are we not sometimes hypnotized by the word “ploughing” ? Many of the prime cultivations in the world no longer use a plough, but they use other methods such as rotary cultivation that assists moisture conservation, especially when combined with green crops manurial technique to improve the manurial value of the soil ; by such means to improve the texture of the soil is, I think, probably one of the ways of promoting higher agricultural productivity in India ; as it is in many other countries of the world.

The LECTURER: I see nothing wrong in that at all. I am sorry that I harped on ploughing, but I was trying to deal, in a rather short time, with the connexion between what one saw in Pakistan and the nearest equivalent to it. All I am asking for is more thorough and more timely cultivations ; and the use of mechanical power ; which seems inevitable if this is to be accomplished in a hot climate where draught animals are always poor, and the time at one's disposal always rather short.

The following answer to a question by Sir Stanford Cooper was added in correspondence :

“There is no doubt whatever that green manuring would be most valuable in Pakistan, as in all other countries in which bullock dung is

commonly burnt as fuel. The main limiting factor is, of course, irrigation water, which is generally too valuable to use for other than food or cash crops ; and one quite strong argument for mechanisation is that greater speed of working will enable ' between seasons ' irrigation water to be used for growing green manure. However, I think what Sir Stanford Cooper had in mind was the possibility of harvesting green stuff from naturally wet areas for use in dry ones which, so far as I know, is an entirely new idea. It would of course be hardly practicable in Pakistan, where the wet and dry areas are 1,000 miles apart. In any case I am afraid the cost, on the one hand, of transporting bulky material ; or, on the other, of drying and packing it would probably make the idea unacceptable."

The CHAIRMAN expressed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Wright for his excellent paper.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD proposed a most hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding and also to his gracious lady the Begum for her presence.

THE TRANSITION FROM DEPENDENCE TO SOVEREIGN STATUS: THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECT*

By Dr. PERCIVAL SPEAR, of Selwyn College, Cambridge

THE TITLE of this paper limits the scope to the constitutional aspect of the problems of transition from dependence to sovereign status ; and I shall endeavour to respect the sovereignty of both the economic and cultural fields, but I am sure you will understand that it is not always easy to discover the exact 38th parallel between these domains, and even when discovered, to avoid crossing it.

Granted that a transition is desirable, how can it be accomplished smoothly or at any rate with the minimum of friction ? No doubt complete harmony is theoretically possible, but not even those models of constitutional propriety, the Scandinavians, quite succeeded in this when Norway separated from Sweden in 1905. This harmony could be achieved if one party was completely passive, the dependency being ready to receive thankfully instalments of autonomy as and when determined by the senior partner, or the senior being ready to give similar instalments on request by the junior.

★ Read at a joint meeting with the Over-Seas League on March 7th, 1951, with Mr. H. V. Hodson in the chair.

I know of no example of the former ; the attitude of the British Government to the white colonies in the mid-nineteenth century is the nearest we have approached to the latter. The exasperated Disraeli's remark in 1852 : "These wretched colonies are millstones round our necks," expressed an attitude which was very serviceable in the development of Dominion status in its earlier stages as well as being very convenient to the colonies themselves. An alternative way of achieving harmony in this process would be the possession of a common mind and temper on the matter so that each step could be mutually agreed by a process of give and take. There have been traces of this common temper in all the examples of constitutional development—indeed peaceful development from the one to the other would be impossible without it—but never, as it were, a completely saturated solution. The value in the discussion of this subject lies in the possibility of so increasing the proportions of mutual goodwill and comprehension of a common purpose between colonies and their controlling powers, at present in the process of constitutional transition, as to reduce friction below the danger point, and so increase the chances of ultimate success.

India, Pakistan, and Ceylon possess certain common features which make it practically possible as well as geographically convenient to treat them together. It isn't merely that they all lie East of Suez. First, they all possess ancient cultures. The Hindu, the Islamic and the Hinayana Buddhist traditions are not only ancient but living. They still dominate the lives of the masses of their areas and they still exercise their charm over the respective intelligentsias. The westernizing process has gone far in all three and has produced criticism of the past and desire for change, but there remains a strong and even passionate desire to be loyal to the old while welcoming the new. Such an attitude of course involves tensions and perplexities, but these I must forbear to discuss lest I cross one of those ideological 38th parallels. All three 'possessed' memories of independence, in some cases quite recent, and two of them prized memories of empire. The great Mogul and the great Mauryas and Guptas were living memories among Muslims and Hindus.

In all these countries there was an acceptance of western ideas, particularly political ideas, coupled with a desire to be loyal to past traditions and to find, if possible, some *modus vivendi* between the two. Finally all suffered from internal tensions which complicated the process of transition at every step. Both undivided India and Ceylon were multi-cultural. All three countries have minorities unwilling to accept majority decisions on certain matters. Provincial feeling is strong in the two larger units (East and West in Pakistan, Bengali, Marathi, Uttar Pradesh and other patriotisms in India.) In both India and Ceylon there were

vested interests more concerned for themselves than the progress of the whole. These factors form a common background for the problems which I now want to discuss.

THE DIVIDED MIND

The first of these is what I would call the problem of the *Divided Mind*. The Divided Mind has been present in both rulers and ruled, and I will take the rulers first. Much friction and misunderstanding was caused in India by the fact that Britain changed her mind more than once as to her purpose there. The original purpose of providing a frame within which trade could proceed unfettered changed between 1820 and 1840 into an almost missionary enthusiasm for the conferment of western blessings upon India. Independence was envisaged as the consequence of the acceptance of western civilization and the ideal was given classical expression by Macaulay in 1833. Britain was then ahead of all but a few Indian minds like that of Ram Mohan Roy. Between 1840 and 1880 the vision faded into the Punjab school ; creed of service of subject peoples without much hope of response or reward. The White Man's burden replaced the White Man's dream. Between 1880 and 1929 there was a time of cross purposes between the selfless service idea which reached its apotheosis with Curzon and a revived and revised edition of the democratic independence idea. Only with Lord Halifax's proclamation of Dominion Status as Britain's declared purpose can the British mind be broadly said to have been finally made up. And by then much harm had been done. Infirmary of purpose led to permanent paralysis of action and apparent inconsistencies between thought and deed. The effect was to create such doubt and distrust of British intentions as seriously to hinder all later action.

The ruled can also suffer from a divided mind in a way which adds to the difficulties of those trying to carry out the transition. In old societies like those of the East, there is a fission between traditionalism and reformism. The acceptance of Westernisation, which may be welcomed by forward-looking people on its merits, is often retarded by its association with the foreign ruling power.

At certain stages nationalism can be twisted to serve reaction in the guise of revolution. Thus Tilak at the turn of the century used orthodox sentiment as a stick to beat the British with, and the British in their last years nervously refrained from a vigorous policy of social reform for fear of provoking the cry of Hinduism in danger. The practical non-enforcement of the Sarda Act raising the minimum marriage age is an example of this tendency.

DIVIDED AUTHORITY

A more technically constitutional problem is that of divided authority. British authority in India through the East India Company was from the beginning divided between three Presidencies each directly subordinate to London. The Regulating Act of 1773 provided an overall Governor-General, but with strictly limited powers, and vestiges of this separate dependence on the Home Government and consequent independence of the parts to each other remained until 1947. The Governors of the great Presidencies were generally supplied from public life in England; and all Governors were appointed by the Secretary of State. They enjoyed the right of separate correspondence with London, a right which could be very embarrassing to Governor-Generals pursuing a controversial policy like Lord William Bentinck, Lord Ripon, or Lord Irwin. With the reforms of 1921 a new example of divided authority became significant.

This was the right of secretaries (the permanent heads of departments) to direct access to the Governor. When the actual heads of departments or executive councillors were also British officials this did little harm and perhaps had some virtue, but when it was Indian ministers depending on a popular majority who were thus bypassed, the effect was often unfortunate. Not a little frustration and bitterness was caused by the nationalist's belief, not always devoid of foundation, that secretaries were using their privilege to hinder ministerial policies or Governors exploiting their independence in a sense against the declared policy of the Supreme Government. It may be suggested that so long as a government is authoritarian in structure, it should not contain devices for balance and delay. The principle of balance in a self-governing constitution is legitimate to prevent one party from becoming absolute. In a government where by definition authority is wholly centralized such devices only tend to produce infirmity of action and to make difficult the implementation of any new or radical policy, on the part of the ruling power, and thus to throw doubts on the sincerity of the government's declared intentions.

SERVICE INTERESTS

Any ruling power tends to build up a number of vested interests. When the time comes for constitutional transition these groups, which have prospered under foreign rule and perhaps, like the foreign personnel of government services, owe their very existence to the nature of the old regime, are apt to be reluctant to give up privileged positions or to abdicate power. If they are appeased too much, progress in the desired direction is apt to become too microscopic to be noticed by any but

themselves ; if they are overruled too harshly their grudging obedience and covert obstruction is often more harmful than open opposition would have been ; they cannot be liquidated because too much depends on them.

There is first the problem of the official vested interest. In India this is generally expressed in the letters I.C.S., though in fact it included all the covenanted services or services directly subordinate to the Secretary of State. Cornwallis was the virtual founder of the Civil Service in its typical form. In 1793 it was laid down that every post worth more than £500 a year should be filled by an Englishman. This rule only began to be relaxed in 1833 and was not (except on the legal side) largely modified in the covenanted services before the reforms of 1921. The Services were a white preserve, and also enjoyed a monopoly of all key posts. Further, their covenant being with the Secretary of State, they could only be dismissed by him. They thus formed a number of semi-independent corporations within the state (of which the I.C.S. was the chief), evincing high standards of integrity and a lofty esprit de corps, it is true, but also possessing their own sectional vested interests. The complete anglicization of the services produced a vested interest in places.

The Director's nominee was replaced by the competition-wallah in 1853. But he was still a white competition-wallah. To service interests must at any rate to some extent be attributed the slowness of the process of the Indianisation of the Services. The race-bar to the services was abolished in 1833, but for the next 20 years the Directors were to continue the appointment of their relations and friends rather than any Indian. The introduction of examinations made it possible for Indians to compete with Englishmen but the fact that the examination was held in London only until 1923 imposed upon them a severe handicap. Until that time Indians in the Services were rare birds, and even when they were admitted they were not always allowed to stay, as in the case of Surendranath Bannerjee. The tardiness of Indianization was a very real Indian grievance and did much to foster suspicion and ill-will ; the blame for it must be mainly laid at the door of service interest exercising influence both in India and at home.

W E L C O M I N G T R A N S I T I O N

The service monopoly of key posts was another problem. The I.C.S. were not only administrative officers, but could look forward to executive responsibility as Governors' or Viceregal Councillors and as Governors of all but three Provinces. The advance of self-government inevitably meant their gradual exclusion from these posts. They would have been more than human if they had, as a class, looked on this process with

pleasure or regarded their supplanters as more efficient than themselves. The surprising feature is not that many administered the new in the spirit of the old, but that many welcomed the transition and did their best to make it smooth. The moral of this Indian experience seems to me to be that a service which under a colonial system must govern as well as administer should be remodelled as soon as the colony sets its course steadily towards self-government. In India from 1921 onwards the Civil Service should have been confined to administration, the executive posts being filled by public men from Britain and India. Their monopoly of key posts should have at the same time been relaxed, and special privileges like direct access of secretaries to Governors and Viceroys discontinued. The service as a whole should have been subordinate to the Indian Government, instead of the Secretary of State. I have laboured this point somewhat because I think it has its applications elsewhere in the Empire at the present moment.

“ WEIGHTAGE ”

Not only officials but commerce is apt to form a vested interest in a colony. It is possible for commercial interests to become, as with the Burma Shell in Burma, an *imperium in imperio*. India had its commercial groups in the jute merchants, the indigo and tea planters, and the cotton interest. The device adopted in their case was to give them representation in the representative assemblies. The principle of “weightage” was adopted. This had the result of giving the Europeans the balance of power on occasion both in the Bengal Assembly and less frequently in the Central Assembly. Though this power was on the whole used with discretion, the position was not a desirable one. It appears to me to have been right to give these interests representation but wrong to have given it in a form which conferred measurable voting power as well as an audible voice in proceedings. It should be possible in analogous cases to provide the one without the other. Where there are a number of interests whose separate representation would involve a significant number of votes, the device of representation with the power to speak but not to vote might be considered.

THE PRINCES

There remains the question of vested interest in the colonies themselves. In India and Pakistan there were the Princes and in all three eastern regions large landowners under various titles. The Princes had their treaties and their direct link with the Viceroy through the Residents. After 1921 they

had a consultative assembly known as the Chamber of Princes. The landowners in the 1935 Constitution were given representation in upper houses in provinces where their interests were strong. They were natural supporters of the *status quo* ; they were well fitted to be reactionary buffers if the British Government desired to avoid constitutional progress. But they were a real problem once the supreme government had set its course for self-government. To support them was to court the charge of reaction and inconsistency with declared policy ; to abandon them was to be open to the charge of deserting one's friends. Loyalty meant charges of ill-faith and suspicion ; abandonment, popularity without respect.

The solution attempted was conversion of the old order to the new outlook : revolution by persuasion. This had some limited success with the Princes for a time but failed at its big test of the 1935 Federal Constitution. It is difficult to know better in a complicated situation, yet analogous conditions elsewhere demand that one *should* know better. It may well be said that the Princes dug their own grave by their folly, but how much more balanced development in India, both hitherto and in the future might have been, if they had been converted to a forward view in time. There was one device which was scarcely tried for integrating the Princes with the rest of India, though it was practised with marked success by the previous *raj* of the Moghuls. This was the association of the Princes in imperial affairs by such means as appointments to governorships and the opening of diplomatic and military careers. Akbar's Round Table with its Rajput and Hindu members never had a counterpart in British India. I would suggest that this has some relevance to places like West Africa and Uganda.

THE WESTERN COAT AND EASTERN CLOTH

I come now to one of the most difficult aspects of the process of constitutional transition. This is the creation and development of representative institutions. The problem is to cut your western coat according to your eastern cloth. The first difficulty is that novel social conditions prevent the simple application of normal democratic institutions as known in the west. The effects would be bizarre. Widespread illiteracy made anything like universal suffrage impracticable. In India the caste system cut across the idea of free and equal electors. There were racial and cultural minorities to whom majority rule meant government by your enemies. In addition account had to be taken of rapidly changing conditions. The situation was not static but dynamic with impulses emanating from the West.

The great task of constitution makers was therefore to arrange for the representation of significance rather than of numbers. This done, the next need was to allow adequate representation for the emerging westernised class. At first the Government of India believed that its own officers could adequately represent the people of India in their persons because of their intimate knowledge gained in the districts. In the early 19th century when officers lived for months or even years without seeing another European and spent a large part of their time in touring, this had in it an element of truth. But it became progressively less true and the Mutiny gave the theory its quietus. Vicarious representation was replaced by nominated representatives of whom Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was perhaps the most eminent. This had some value for the old landowning and official classes, but gave no outlet to the new moneyed and westernised professional class.

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

The system of election was introduced, at first very gingerly in 1892 and then openly in 1909. Endeavours were made to reconcile representative theory with political fact by such devices as a property franchise, minority weightage and communal electorates. Property qualifications continued in some degree until 1947. Weightage, or the giving to a group of a larger representation than their numbers entitled it to, was intended to prevent one community from dominating others in provinces where several existed. In the Punjab it had the effect of giving the Muslim majority a minority of seats—a situation which prevented the formation of a stable government on the eve of Partition and so materially contributed to the great tragedy which accompanied it. Communal electorates, or the grouping of voters of one community into separate constituencies which elected their own members, was designed to secure representation for groups which might otherwise be overborne in the race for election because of poverty, paucity of numbers or lack of political sense. Primarily it was a device to comfort Muslims in the face of a Hindu resurgence. The introduction of communal electorates in 1909 has been regarded as the first step towards Pakistan. But in my judgement the Pakistan movement would not have been forestalled by their omission ; it would have come sooner but as a revolutionary instead of a constitutional one. Communal electorates recognized a difference between Hindus and Muslims ; they were justified because that difference was, as events have confirmed, genuine.

Two difficulties strike the mind as one surveys the steady and in its later stages majestic growth of representative institutions in India. The

first was the difficulty of adapting these institutions to the rapid emergence of the new westernised class. This was the class above all others which desired representation, yet their lack of wealth, land or traditional status tended to exclude them except by chance. Yet it was extremely difficult to gauge their progress statistically or to measure their significance at any one time. The foundation of the National Congress in 1885, and presently its alienation from the administration can in part be attributed to the failure to appreciate the growth in significance of this class in time. Had representative institutions existed then, the formation of Congress would not have been necessary, or, if it had been formed, would have taken a different shape.

Similarly, if the modest Councils of the nineties had been wide enough to have included the extremist Tilak as well as the moderate Gokhale, the unconstitutional tradition of the Congress, later so successfully developed by Gandhi, might never have been established. Here is one of the major problems in any constitutional transition from colonial to sovereign status. The emerging westernized class must be given adequate representation *as it emerges*, because this is the class which will provide the driving-force towards independence, and which will be the ruling class thereafter. The more a sense of fairplay and the sooner a sense of partnership is established with this class, the better the outlook for the future. In India the point was missed because its importance was not realized. I do not say the problem is not difficult even if it is realized, but at any rate if one's eyes are on this class one is less liable to be taken by surprise by its sudden emergence to power, and more likely to be able to win its confidence and trust.

MINORITY OBJECTIONS

A second difficulty was the unwillingness of various groups to accept majority decisions in matters which they deemed to be of vital concern to themselves. Muslims, Sikhs and orthodox Hindus were alike in this. There were large areas of life in India for which the democratic principle of majority rule just did not hold. It covered not only worship, but personal law, language and social customs. How then could representation be given to the majority without alarming the minorities? No definite answer was found to this question, and it was the failure to find it that led to Partition. It may be suggested that a solution might have been found along guild or corporative lines. In the Punjab a promising experiment began with the Gurdwara Act of 1924, which gave to the Sikh community a committee democratically elected by Sikhs which controlled all their religious endowments.

On a larger scale a guild system might have been developed and incorporated in the constitution by means of second chambers. While the first chambers would be democratically elected on a numerical basis, the second chambers would contain equal numbers of the major communities. Thus, in matters affecting the vital life of each community, neither could override the other. But in matters of common concern the will of the majority would prevail. Each community would have its guild or corporation which would control its religious, cultural and social life, being responsible for religious and social reform. Thus progress within each community would have been organic and at the will of each body concerned.

A considerable volume of experience in the East suggests that the machinery of parliamentarism in the setting of a unitary state is not suitable for societies which are plural in greater or less degree. The inevitable difficulties of a transition from colonialism have been enhanced in India, in Burma and in Ceylon by the imposition of the pattern of a unitary state upon the actuality of a plural society. The partition of India has been one result of this constitutional daydreaming, and the breakdown of authority in Burma another. Ceylon escaped because of its smaller size, and because its more exposed position (and greater sophistication in comparison with Burma) made it more willing to meet Britain half-way in regulating the pace and form of the transition. Besides, from 1920 the pace was quicker than in India.

TOO SOON OR TOO LATE

The last group of problems I want to mention are perhaps the most difficult of all. These are connected with the transfer of executive power from the paramount to the colonial state. How is the steel frame of government (as the structure of government was described by Lloyd George) to be changed without incurring some moment of weakness when the whole structure might collapse? The danger he envisaged was withdrawal too soon or, to change the metaphor, the removal of the supports of a concrete structure before the concrete had set. The opposite danger also exists, as experience has shown, of not withdrawing soon enough. There is risk from the friction and sense of frustration produced by undue delay as well as from the breakdown of authority caused by precipitate withdrawal. If Burma exemplifies the latter point, India perhaps illustrates the former.

Taking the internal sphere, there is first the question of the *mode* of transfer—which powers in which order. If each facet of governmental power was separate, the matter would be fairly simple, but they are all

interconnected. Here I want to make two points. The usual order adopted has been from the local to the national sphere. First devolution in the district and the municipality and then at the centre of government. In countries where the dynamic political force is a westernised and westernising minority, I am inclined to think that this is a mistake. Such a procedure gives power over local administration to the people who have least idea of how to use it. The local authorities represent local vested interests which are the least permeated by modern ideas. Why should people be expected to tax themselves to provide things like drains, street lights or good roads when they have no idea of their value and no personal wish for them? Is it surprising that municipalities (as they were in India) should then be labelled inefficient, reactionary or corrupt?

The British system of local government works in a society like that of Britain where the social dynamism comes from below, through the minds of a people with common ideals and traditions. But in changing societies, particularly traditional societies in process of westernisation, there is not such a set of common ideals. The dynamism comes from above downwards. The ideas come from a forward-looking elite, and the orders should come from a forward-driven bureaucracy.

Thus in India I should say that responsible government should have developed in the centre first and local self-government been developed afterwards. We have been too insular in this matter of transition. The British way of self-government is not always in all circumstances better than that of other European nations. In this matter, in particular, I think we might have borrowed with advantage from the French. Their central democratic control of the executive is not matched by a similar local control of the local officials. The Prefects and most of the Mayors are nominated by the centre, and advised but not controlled by the Departmental and municipal councils. If some such system, coupled with a more rapid development of responsible government in the Provinces, had been adopted in India, I believe that much frustration and misunderstanding might have been avoided.

THE ORDER OF TRANSFER

The second point I want to make in this connexion concerns the order of handing over powers at the centre. The order laid down in India in 1921 was nation-building departments (education, health, public works, etc.) to popular ministers; law and order being retained by the Paramount Power. One result was that the Paramount Power had all of what may be called the dirty work of government to do—collecting

taxes, suppressing riots, restraining fanatics—and so tended to become progressively more unpopular. It became the great *NO* of public life. On the other hand neither Ministers nor opposition had ever to fear the ill-consequences of irresponsibility. There was always someone else to save the situation, someone else to restore order if necessary and to be blamed into the bargain for the way in which they did it. The growth of a sense of responsibility among colonial leaders is vital for any successful transition : this system tended to arrest this growth, and so to postpone instead of obviate the danger of a breakdown when the transfer of authority was complete. The Burmans have suffered bitterly from this method. The speed with which they are learning in the hard school of experience suggests that events there might have been very different if a different method had been adopted. Indian leaders also were insufficiently aware of the volcanic forces just below the surface of their society. Had they had more experience of “law and order” the calamities which accompanied partition would have been reduced, if not avoided altogether.

A vital question in the transition of governmental power to popular control is that of finance. In India finance remained a reserved subject, that is, under authoritarian control. But nation-building costs money. Beginning with Chintamani in the United Provinces and Paranjpye in Bombay, there were constant complaints that reforms were held up because the Paramount power would not unloose the purse-strings. Again, the flexible sources of revenue like Customs and Income Tax were given to the British-controlled Centre, the Provinces being left with the more rigid sources such as Land Revenue and Excise. The lot of provincial ministers who wanted to introduce Prohibition in accordance with Hindu sentiment, which meant loss of excise, and expand education and other social services, which meant increase of revenue, was hard indeed. This financial problem is extremely difficult and I would not say more than that the correct balance was not in fact achieved.

THE EXECUTIVE

A third problem was the introduction of the popular element into the executive. Under dyarchy from 1921–37 the executive consisted of popular ministers and nominated executive councillors. A praiseworthy effort was made to bridge the gap between the two by the practice of joint consultation. This often produced excellent results *within* the Council Chamber. But outside Ministers were constantly suspected of walking into the British imperial parlour ; the more harmonious the relations between the two branches, the greater became the suspicion outside.

The Ministers therefore tended to lose popular support progressively the longer they remained in office and the practice of appointing amenable Ministers to executive councillorships, however convenient to the Ministers themselves, only encouraged the process. The case of Sir Fazli Husain in the Punjab, most formidable of invalids, was the exception that proved the rule.

Much of the friction produced by the financial and executive arrangements of dyarchy in India was perhaps unavoidable. But it has, I think, some lessons for other transitions elsewhere. One should not give with one hand and appear to withhold with the other. The transfer of legislative and executive powers should be matched with the necessary financial controls. The device of Dyarchy as a first step in the transfer of power was better than no device at all. But it might have been better to transfer completely what was to be transferred at all. Thus in India the first step should have been provincial autonomy coupled with the allotment to the provinces of some portion of the flexible sources of revenue. The next step would have been responsible government at the Centre.

S A F E G U A R D S

No doubt there would have been some administrative breakdown and perhaps some fantastic experiments. These would have been confined within limits by the safeguards retained both in the 1919 and 1935 Acts. Safeguards were constantly criticized by popular leaders and no doubt caused some friction. But the nearer these countries came to independence, the less edge did the criticisms possess. The justification for safeguards in a transition period is to be found in the attitude of the new governments towards them. In fact they were grateful for the exceptional powers which they inherited, and have used them extensively. The rain of ordinances did not cease with independence, nor the detention of persons without trial. I believe I am right in saying that there are actually more of these people now under detention than at the close of British rule. The existence of safeguards is inevitable in a transition period. Our mistake in the East was not to allow their existence to encourage us to bolder measures of transfer.

I have no doubt that in India and Burma the Secretary of State retained too much power too long. The telegraph enabled him to exercise a day-to-day supervision which only a man like Curzon could overcome. Inter-war Viceroyalties tried to redress the balance by visits for consultation; even so I think it was only Lord Halifax who really achieved much freedom of action. He would have done more if he had been freer still. Delegation of home authority should be proportioned to the growth of

self-government within the colony. Once the transition is under way, Governors should not be official nominees but men of suitable stature from British public life. In India the Viceroy should always have been of cabinet rank.

It is in the hope that the questions here treated from the Indian sub-continental point of view may find echoes in other parts of the Commonwealth, that I have put these thoughts together.

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

A MEETING of the East India Association and the Over-Seas League was held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W. 1., on Thursday, December 14th 1950, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Longmore, G.C.B., D.S.O., presiding. Dr. Victor Purcell, C.B.E., Ph.D., gave a lecture on "The Future of South-East Asia."

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the meeting said he wished once again to welcome the East India Association to Over-Seas House. He said that Dr. Victor Purcell was on the staff of United Nations for a period, during the war he was on Lord Mountbatten's staff, and since then he had been lecturer at Cambridge University on Far Eastern History.

Dr. PURCELL described in summarized form some of the impressions made on him by a recent tour of the area in question. From the middle of July until the end of October he visited Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, the Phillippines and Hong Kong, and concuded by attending the eleventh Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Lucknow. The countries named were reviewed in turn.

UNBALANCED COMMUNITIES

The CHAIRMAN thought that most of those who studied affairs in South-East Asia and overseas generally had great sympathy with these new States that had either recently been liberated or in some way had got their own self-government, either within the Commonwealth or as independent nations. They would realize the difficulties facing unbalanced communities, that is, countries with minorities which did not show their zeal for the new régime when it had actually come into being, as in the case of Burma. To a certain extent under the British rule these minorities

played their part and kept quiet. There was the training and the education of the population of the country from top to bottom. Not only at the top in the legal or journalistic professions, but in the veterinary surgeons, the engineers, the craftsmen of every description. In general the complete education of the people of a country eventually led to a balanced community.

The other point which was interesting was the attitude of the various countries to Communism. In certain cases the opposition to Communism was not very pronounced, and the lecturer gave him the impression that perhaps some of the people in power seemed to be sitting on the fence to see what happened if the Communist régime spread further than it has spread today. He was reminded of a tribe in Irak which he once visited called Yezidis who worshipped the devil for the very good reason that they considered that if they propitiated the devil he was much more likely to treat them well. It did not matter so much about the Almighty because he would in any case forgive them their sins.

In the case of guerillas in Malaya there was little doubt that the more ruthless methods of these Communist bands towards the local people enabled them to keep going. Other and more important people in various countries might be similarly influenced. They might argue that it was better not to offend the Communists because some day they might find it necessary to adopt that idealism, and it would be a pity if the opportunity of coming in on the ground floor in the new régime and being able to control the country was missed. They might feel that they were doing their best for their country, but it sounded a serious consideration to him.

Finally, he would remind the audience of the attitude of the British taxpayer, the person who was seldom consulted as to how his money should be spent. At the Colombo Conference the money voted for the relief of South-East Asia was a very considerable amount. There was only one type of person who contributed to this relief, the taxpayer, either British or American. It did not come out of the profits of the nationalized industries in this country because there were none.

He congratulated the speaker on his most interesting address.

ONE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT

Mr. MAUNG MAUNG JI (Burmese Embassy) said that it was pleasant to hear the point of view of the lecturer. There were many points of view in the world to-day and the world had become too small for them all. As a result the Eastern and the Western nations had been forced together and when two people came together they had always had two points of view. When the two parts of the world came together they must have their points of view also. There was a tremendous commotion in the

world because people were not able to understand one another. For instance, many years ago when he was an undergraduate at Cambridge he used to go to the music-hall, but he was unable to appreciate most of the jokes because his sense of humour was different from those of his fellow-undergraduates, who roared with laughter.

The lecturer said that the new nations might appear sensitive about their newly won freedom ; he did not agree, but he thought they took life seriously.

He contended that the only possible solution for the West was to extend charity and understanding to the East and the East should do the same for the West. Whatever political point of view they might hold, there was only one fundamental right—the right of every man to live. If they followed that principle and if the Western nations could help, it would be gratefully accepted, brotherhood would grow, and in that atmosphere the world would be a better place. The Western nations must try to understand the Asian point of view, and if the two points of view could be brought together he felt there would be greater international understanding.

INDIA AS PEACE MAKER

Mr. KUMANA (Scindia Steamship Company) said that he felt a little diffident about addressing the meeting on a subject of a delicate nature and of far-reaching importance. He had derived great benefit from what had been said. He would express his own personal views ; he was not speaking in any representative capacity. The foreign policy of the Prime Minister of India had been based on the corner-stone of friendship with China, a friendship which was not intended for any aggressive purposes but for enlargement of its scope within the framework of the United Nations. Unfortunately, that cornerstone was very rudely shaken from its foundations when China entered Tibet at a time when negotiations were proceeding for reconciling Tibetan autonomy with the sovereignty of China. Nevertheless, the Indian Prime Minister, continued his efforts to find a peaceful solution for any international question which was likely to threaten the peace of the world.

The world had not yet recovered from the effects of the first world war, to say nothing of the effects of the second. Yet people were talking about a third world war as if it was a forgone conclusion. He had often been asked what would be the attitude of India in the event of a third world war. Would India remain neutral, or would she line up with the Western democracies if there was a major conflict ? He did not feel competent to answer that question. He thought the lecturer had given

certain hints in this direction but he would hesitate to confirm or contradict what he had said. All he could say with the greatest degree of certainty was that India to-day was foremost amongst the countries of the world which were most anxious and sincerely wished for a peaceful solution of the present international crisis.

Dr. SUDJARWO (Counsellor, Indonesian Embassy) said that he thought that the opinions and conclusions of the lecturer had provided a clear picture of the feelings of the Asiatic peoples. It was important, particularly in the light of the efforts which many statesmen were making to bring peace between nations that these feelings should be understood. Dr. Purcell had shown that there was a different state of mind in Asia from that in the West and perhaps he (the speaker) could give an explanation, especially with regard to his own country. In Western Europe national independence was an old established fact ; there was no question of a struggle to secure it. Modern ideologies were imported to Asia by Western people and they were used by political parties in the struggle to liberate their countries from foreign rule. So when Asiatics talked about nationalism it meant also several conflicting political ideals — democracy, socialism, communism and so on. National movements in Asia included many political parties with different ideologies ; but they all combined in the common struggle for self-government. All these parties joined in the common struggle. It was the fact that the Communist Party in his country, and parties allowed to be communistic, offered bitter opposition to colonial rule. It was, in his opinion, a tragic fault of colonial rulers to call every fervent nationalist opposing foreign rule, a communist. In the eyes of the people the Communist was considered a defender of the nationalist cause.

When independence was achieved, the situation changed. Then the people began to recognize the differences between the political parties. But if there was a problem, which was felt to be a colonial issue, the old common feeling would revive. As long as colonialism, or imperialism existed, not only politically speaking but also economically, and even in the minds of people, the political parties in Asia, however different they might be ideologically, would unitedly fight this danger.

So to establish a better understanding between Asia and the west, every action, which could be interpreted as a revival of colonial relations should be avoided. There were indeed still prejudices on both sides, but both could give their contribution to reaching a better understanding for co-operation, which both sides practically needed. We must utilize the opportunity to serve the higher demands of mankind : mutual prosperity in a peaceful world.

DR. PURCELL'S REPLY

Dr. PURCELL, in reply, said that the Colombo Plan was in its inception a very small thing and involved about £8m. sterling, but in its published form it involved nearly £2,000m. Part of the money was in the shape of unused sterling balances which could not be regarded as a gift because they belonged to the countries in question. In the whole of his talks in the East no one ever imagined that they would get much from the British, and whatever the Plan suggested the bulk of the money had to come from the United States of America. Even assuming the British taxpayer was paying a considerable part of this money, he had to look at it in a number of ways, whether in spending this money he was to reap an eventual advantage, or whether it was just an act of charity.

The Asian nations did not regard the superiority of western technical advancement as due to anything but an accident. Those who studied the history of Asia must agree that 300 or 400 years ago they were very much in advance of us. The Asian nations did not think that the superior knowledge which the West now had was due to any special virtue on the part of the latter. They expected to be helped, but their expectancy was subordinate to their own feeling that they must look after their sovereignty first and foremost. He scarcely felt that what we, the British, contributed mattered greatly one way or the other; the only substantial money was bound in some way or other to come out of the only country which had any money—the United States.

He was asked if he found the same loyalty to the United Nations in Asia as in Britain and America. The answer was that there was a good deal of feeling in favour of the United Nations but a fear of America. At Lucknow there was a long list of charges against the United States which had no bearing at all on the United Nations. Again, there was some suspicion in Asian minds that the United Nations did not necessarily mean United Asian nations, and there was a feeling about Korea because the troops engaged in the war were almost exclusively American or British. There was a feeling that the United Nations was an instrument of the United States.

With regard to food in Hong Kong, he had no chapter and verse in spite of what he said, but he heard it widely stated that there had been a great improvement in the food situation in China; they had a bumper harvest this year, but even with that they had been able to a great extent, temporarily at least, to solve the food problem.

On the proposal of Mr. J. M. PRINGLE, KC, a vote of thanks was accorded to Sir Arthur Longmore for presiding and to Dr. Purcell for his most interesting lecture.

KASHMIR—A SOVEREIGN STATE

A JOINT MEETING of the Association and the Over-Seas League was held at Over-Seas House, St. James's Street, S.W.1, on Tuesday, January 9, 1951, when a discussion on "Kashmir—A Sovereign State" was opened by Sir Godfrey Davis, whose remarks were reported in the January ASIATIC REVIEW (pp. 30-37).

Lt.-Col. Sir GEOFFREY BETHAM, KBE, CIE, MC. was in the Chair. He said that Sir Godfrey had spent many years in India, and like many others present entertained great respect and affection for the peoples of both India and Pakistan. He had spent most of his career on the judicial side, and finally became Chief Judge of the Chief Court of Sind.

Sir GODFREY DAVIS then read his paper and at the close referred to the resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 17, 1950, concerning the setting up of a National Assembly representative of the inhabitants of Libya with a view to establishing a Provincial Government to which powers should be progressively transferred by the administering Powers. He suggested that help and guidance might be found in these proceedings of the United Nations and that a similar course might be followed in the case of Kashmir.

VIEWS OF A KASHMIRI

Mr. B. ZUTSHI congratulated Sir Godfrey Davis on his statement, which was a masterpiece of impartiality. A less gifted person than Sir Godfrey would have lost his way in the volumes of reports which had been written on the Kashmir dispute. Sir Godfrey has, however, been too dominated by an anxiety to be impartial to accord full appreciation to the Kashmiri point of view. The fact that Kashmir declared its formal affiliation to India had to a large extent, resulted in submerging it. The foreign press and the U.N.O. delegates to Kashmir had only concerned themselves with finding some compromise that would meet the acceptance of India and Pakistan and the claim of the Kashmiris to determine what should be done with their country has been regrettably neglected.

He submitted that Kashmiris presented a phenomenon of social behaviour for which there was no parallel in India or Pakistan. They had witnessed in Kashmir many Hindus holding Muslim saints in greater reverence than they were held by Muslims. On the other hand they had seen many Muslims offer worship in Hindu shrines such as Tulamula. The contribution of Kashmiri pandits to Islamic culture had been monumental and equal to any that flowered in the countries of its origin.

The affiliation of Kashmir to India was not an act brought about by external pressure. It was a considered decision dictated by historical and economic necessity. It was an assertion of predominant nationalist feeling. Kashmiris knew on which side their bread was buttered. A solution to the Kashmir dispute must recognize this unique nature of Kashmiris and should not gloss over it in the name of Impartiality.

THE KASHMIR AREAS

The total population of Kashmir was four million, which was divided as follows :—Jammu, two million, Kashmir, 1,700,000 and the Frontier Illaqs 300,000. The Muslims formed 77 per cent of the total population. There were 13 different languages spoken in Kashmir, the most common being Dogri, Kashmiri, Pahari, Urdu and Hindi. Kashmiri was spoken in the valley, Dogri in Jammu, Pahari in the Frontier Illaqs, and Urdu was the official language of the State. 44 Newspapers were published in the State which had half-a-dozen political organizations. The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference was the most powerful of these organizations. It came into existence on June 28, 1938 as a result of transformation of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, which was communal in character. Since then it had campaigned for the "national demand." It had the backing of the majority of Muslims and Hindus, and was supported by all the main political parties and Trade Unions except the Muslim Conference.

The Muslim Conference came into being as a result of rivalries amongst the leaders. It was communal in character and was supported by certain elements of the Muslims. It had however, failed to influence the Muslim masses, whose faith in the National Conference remained unshaken.

Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of the present Government (he added) is the unrivalled leader of the National Conference. He has been in the forefront of the national struggle in Kashmir since 1930. He holds a brief from the people of Kashmir in the fullest possible sense. I can assure you that he has earned to the full the confidence he enjoys by reason of his sincere and devoted service to Kashmir. There is no Kashmiri to equal him. Harassed as Sheikh Abdullah's Government has been with immense problems created by the invasion and the presence of numerous homeless refugees, it has gone ahead with social and economic reforms. Drastic land reforms have been introduced which transfer land from the owner to the cultivator. The justice of this policy was appreciated generally and the resultant sacrifices were accepted without complaint. Large-scale expansion in irrigation systems has been undertaken and projects for hydro-electric power generation taken in hand.

In the frontier Illaqas of Kashmir occupied by Pakistanis the Azad Kashmir movement is functioning. It has come into existence since the invasion. Its claim to speak for the people of Kashmir is no less preposterous than its claim to be a revolutionary movement.

Of the various solutions to the Kashmir dispute suggested so far the least disruptive and the most promising is that of an Independent Kashmir. Given goodwill and non-interference from her two great neighbours, Kashmir would move forward to plenty and prosperity.

The CHAIRMAN said that it had been most interesting to hear Mr. Zutshi, himself a Kashmiri, put forward his point of view.

THE INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND

Brigadier J. G. SMYTH, VC, MP, said that Sir Frank Brown was to be congratulated on having arranged that the Commonwealth Premiers should be discussing the same subject that very afternoon whilst their two societies were doing the same in that room! He always knew that Sir Frank was a very clever man, but he had not appreciated that his cleverness extended to such an arrangement as this.

He would suggest that they should consider this very vital problem of Kashmir against the background of the international situation, which, as they would all agree, was very menacing indeed. From the point of view of Kashmir itself there could be no future if the world was going to be plunged into another devastating war. Their overriding thought should be the international situation, and when they were deciding on a solution to this problem they should rule out any long-term solution and anything which could not be resolved almost immediately. He thought they would all agree that the world was balanced at the moment precariously between peace and war. In Korea they were fighting what would have been considered only a short while ago a major war. The French were fighting in Indo-China and the British in Malaya, and, last but by no means least, the Communist Chinese had invaded Tibet. He regarded this last as in some ways the most serious development of all, because if one searched the whole world one could not find a country more inoffensive than Tibet.

This world situation coincided with a time of great military weakness on the part of Great Britain and of the countries of the Indian Ocean area. He did not suppose that any of them could remember a time when Great Britain was militarily so weak as at the present moment; nor could they remember when the Indian Ocean area was also militarily so weak. That situation, to his mind, was a direct encouragement to Communist

aggression, and he was perfectly certain that in the interests of world peace they must try to resolve this Kashmir difficulty as quickly as possible.

When the British left India in such a hurry that they could not decide the future of the princely States, those of them who knew anything about those States at all realized that there would be very serious trouble, particularly in Hyderabad and Kashmir. He had imagined that if Hyderabad and Kashmir were not to remain as independent States then Hyderabad should accede to India and Kashmir to Pakistan. From many points of view, including railway communications and defence, Kashmir should accede to Pakistan. But they had to face the facts as they had worked out, and he did not believe that this was a workable solution at the present time, nor did he believe that it was possible at the present time to have a plebiscite. In fact, when they came down to the solution put forward by Sir Godfrey Davis, with which he agreed, they might well consider it the only solution in the present state of international affairs, that is to say, the creation of Kashmir as an independent sovereign State guaranteed by the Powers of United Nations and policed by a United Nations Security Force.

Personally he hoped very much that perhaps during that very week in the talks in Downing Street the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, Pakistan, and India might show their greatness in the face of this very big problem, which was at the moment affecting adversely the peace of the world. A definite decision might be made this week on the Kashmir question to which they could all agree.

AN ASIAN SWITZERLAND

Sir KENNETH FITZE said that he had been a member of the Association for some years, but this was the first time he had addressed one of its meetings, and it was with some trepidation that he spoke to what was in his experience one of the largest audiences assembled under the auspices of the East India Association. But he had felt compelled by grateful memories of two unforgettably happy years long ago in Kashmir—the winters in Srinagar and the summers in the distant Buddhist province of Ladakh—to come up from the wilds of Sussex to testify to the faith that was in him as to the worthiness of this lovely State to be something better than a bone of contention between its two powerful neighbours.

He recalled something said by a friend of his who was at the time associated with the administration of another State and remarked in a moment of exasperation that “the trouble with this wretched little State is that His Highness persists in trying to run it like a bloody

Empire." Well, that was a small State, but if they looked at Kashmir in the light of that, rather peevish observation they would find an astonishing number of what one might call at least *quasi-imperial* elements. It was, of course, the largest State in India, in area bigger even than Hyderabad, and it presented an astonishing variety of conditions in its climatic, linguistic, religious and racial components. There were contrasts in Kashmir which would challenge comparison with anything to be found in all the range of the British Commonwealth of Nations—extraordinary contrasts as to climate, scenery, and character of the people; compare, for instance, the wild tribesmen of Baltistan with the sophisticated pandits of the Kashmir valley or the Mongolian Buddhists of Ladakh! There were also immense distances. Communications were not good—or at least they were not when he knew it—and places like Gilgit and Leh were for practical purposes as far away from Srinagar as Singapore or Capetown from London.

A country like that, it seemed to him, ought not to be administered on provincial lines. It deserved to be administered for what it was, as nothing less than a miniature empire and with a generous measure of local autonomy.

Another thing which struck one about Kashmir was its remarkable similarity to Switzerland. There was the same remoteness from the sea, the same magnificent panorama of mountains and lakes, the same diversity of languages, and the same fitness to be the recreation ground of a continent. Europe was proud, and indeed envious of its Switzerland and he saw no reason why Asia—or the Indian continent at any rate—should not be proud one day of Kashmir in the same sort of way.

Further, to adopt the expedient which had been suggested that day—and so far there had been no word of disagreement in that discussion—would give to India and Pakistan new opportunities for partnership and co-operation in the laying of the foundations of the new State and subsequently of participating in the enjoyment of what it would have to offer. Perhaps one of the most important results would be the provision of a neutral ground on which their people could meet, oblivious of the barriers which divided them in their own countries. He would therefore most strongly support the idea which Sir Godfrey Davis had put forward.

AN UNREALISTIC PLAN

Mr. ALTAF HUSAIN (Editor of *Dawn*) said that he had not come to that meeting with the intention of inflicting his views upon the audience. About a year ago he had spoken in the Association on almost the same subject. The previous speakers had not disagreed with the proposal

which Sir Godfrey Davis had put forward, but he must do so. They in Pakistan who lived with this problem day in and day out believed that a realistic approach to the solution of the question must be made if there was to be any solution at all, and the proposal of Sir Godfrey Davis did not, in his opinion, represent a realistic solution of the problem at all.

In theory, the idea of sovereignty in Kashmir was excellent ; in practice, such sovereignty Kashmir would never have, even though many of those present might support it and it might be endorsed by United Nations. He would venture to explain why. If it were possible to eliminate every foreign influence that now was working in Kashmir, if it were possible to create a State of complete independence in Kashmir, and if it were possible to ask the Kashmiri, to choose whether they wanted to be sovereign or to go to India or to go to Pakistan, and if they took the decision to remain sovereign, then there would be some sense in it. But what chance was there of the people of Kashmir to-day, in a state of military occupation by one of the two countries concerned, to give a free expression of their will ?

He had listened with great attention and respect to the views of Sir Godfrey Davis, and he had waited to see whether he made any concrete proposals as to how the concept of sovereignty could receive practical expression. The only point at which he did make a mention of it was when he said that it would be necessary to regard the present Government of Sheikh Abdulla as the nucleus of a provincial Government.

SIR GODFREY DAVIS : I did not say that it should ; I said " it *may* be necessary."

MR. ALTAF HUSAIN said that the only practical idea about this proposal was that a beginning might have to be made on that basis. If that was so, then it would not be sovereignty of any kind at all. Everybody knew what the present Government of Sheikh Abdulla stood for, and if that same Government was merely to be called by different names—they had a name for it which he would not mention—and was to be regarded as a sovereign Government the great problem affecting four million people would never be settled.

In the first place, he would ask Sir Godfrey why it was necessary to make a departure from what the combined wisdom of United Nations had already decided. A resolution was passed by the Security Council on April 21, 1948. That resolution represented the outcome of a debate at Lake Success which dragged on for several months. It stated that the people of Kashmir must choose in a free and uncontrolled plebiscite what their Government was to be. Why, then, come forward to-day and propose a certain method of giving effect to sovereignty which really would mean no sovereignty but the perpetuation of the present conditions?

To set up the idea of giving sovereignty when sovereignty could not be implemented as such was playing with the matter.

SELF DETERMINATION FOR KASHMIR

Dr. S. BHATTACHARYA, said that it was a strange coincidence that a student of philosophy should speak on politics, but he was speaking in strange circumstances. As against the opener of the debate, he sided with the Editor of *Dawn*, on broad essentials. He imagined that if one ventured any suggestion to cut this Gordian knot it would be necessary to get at the hard core of the problem, and to do this he thought it was allowable to recapitulate in broadest outlines the views of the parties who were directly interested in it.

The case for India was that the Cabinet Mission Plan which eventually brought about independence of undivided India did provide for option for the States to join either India or Pakistan, but it did not contemplate any possibility on behalf of any of the States to stand out both of India and Pakistan. He imagined that Pakistan also shared this view. Therefore, when the then lawful constitutional head of Kashmir—Maharaja Sir Hari Singh—formally acceded to India, this accession bound the State, including her people, to honour that decision. Hence Pakistan had no right whatsoever to interfere with what had been expressed by the State through her head, not to speak of making armed intervention which was an act of aggression.

On the other hand, Pakistan felt that the accession to the Indian Union, which was made by the head of Kashmir was undemocratic in that the people were never consulted. It was absurd, so Pakistan contended, that the accession should have been taken as an established fact without the wish of the people being known. The only course for determining such wish was to hold an impartial plebiscite for the whole of Kashmir.

It was an irony, Dr Bhattacharya went on, that parties were indulging in protracted controversy over the destiny of Kashmir without giving the people thereof a chance of self-determination, yet both the parties were agreed to in principle an impartial plebiscite. But there was a wide divergence of opinion as to the procedure. His own humble submission was :

1. That an impartial administrator, charged with magisterial powers and appointed by the United Nations, with the full consent of India and Pakistan, be made available to Kashmir without further delay.
2. That, under the direction and control of the administrator, a body of United Nations' Forces should take possession of the entire territory.
3. That the question of raising such troops and the question of expenses involved in such procedure be left with the United Nations which has lately tackled such questions in relation to Korea.

4. That, after the U.N. forces have taken control of the whole territory, there be a general withdrawal of all other troops.

5. That the administrator be given such powers, including the rehabilitation of the genuine population of Kashmir, as to enable him to give widest possible range to the free expression of the views of the people.

6. That the views of the people be given immediate effect, followed by the withdrawal of U.N. troops and administration.

Although this might prove expensive and it would not be achieved in a day, he would say that in view of the changing international situation and the dangerous possibilities of the Kashmir situation, it was worthwhile to undertake measures to ascertain the will of the people if permanent peace was the goal of all concerned.

ABDULLA—AZAD RAPPROCHEMENT

Maj.-Gen. F. J. LOFTUS-TOTTENHAM (recently commanding the 7th Division, Rawalpindi) said that what he had intended to say had already been said by one speaker or another. What they were trying to decide about was whether it was practicable or not to have a sovereign Kashmir. What were the difficulties in the way and what would be their solution? The first difficulty in the way was that if they removed the Indian forces and the Pakistan forces they would be left with the Government of Sheikh Abdulla which had certain forces and the Government of the Azad or Free Kashmiris which also had quite considerable forces. Left alone, they would be at one another's throats. If they were both disarmed, they would still be at one another's throats with more primitive weapons.

The ideal answer was, of course, a rapprochement between Abdulla's and the Azad Governments. In his opinion that was quite out of the question at the present moment, and the only other possible way was by removing the Indian forces and the Pakistan forces, disarming Abdulla's forces and the Azad forces, and moving in a United Nations force to keep order until such time as the Kashmiri could decide their own fate. He knew that people would ask where such forces could be found to take on this task. America and Great Britain were very much committed at the moment in other directions, but there were a number of nations in the world who so far had done nothing positive for peace. He had in mind such countries as Sweden, Switzerland, and the countries of South America. Why should they not supply the necessary force?

ECONOMICALLY WEAK, POLITICALLY UNSTABLE

MR. SALMAN ALI (Press Officer, Pakistan House) said that most of what had been said concerning Kashmir covered in reality three points

of view. He could merely recapitulate certain points. When Britain transferred power to the sub-continent the advice given by the then Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten, to the States was that they should accede either to India or Pakistan according to geographical and other considerations. There was no question at that time of any of the States becoming sovereign. Why should something be allowed to Kashmir which was not allowed to other States? To raise that question now, after the right of independence to Hyderabad State had been forcibly denied was to raise totally new and dangerous issues. Brig. Smyth had made a very able speech in covering one point, but he had not taken it to its logical conclusion.

Looking at Kashmir in the international perspective, to give sovereignty to a country which was economically weak, militarily indefensible by means of its own forces (if it had any), and politically unstable, would be to invite those very dangers to which Brig. Smyth had referred in his speech. The logical conclusion, to his mind, having seen Kashmir in its correct international perspective, would be to strengthen it. How was it to be strengthened? Could Kashmir be strengthened by giving it sovereign independence and making it into an independent State, or could Kashmir and the whole of that area be strengthened by bringing the State into line either with India or with Pakistan, whichever was geographically, economically, and racially, the more suitable? He did not need to point out to an instructed audience like that before him there that afternoon that the entire economy of Kashmir was bound up with Pakistan. From the map in front of the audience it could be seen at once how large an area was contiguous with that of Pakistan. The rivers of Kashmir flowed into Pakistan, bringing down Kashmir products, including timber, which formed a large proportion of the State's exports. Pakistan was also exporting to Kashmir. All the roads which were open throughout the year led into Kashmir from Pakistan and not from India. Did not these considerations play an important part in the problem? It was for that audience to decide.

THREE DECISIONS AT U.N.

As to the practicability of having an independent Kashmir, how was this to be achieved? It had been suggested that the Indian and Pakistan troops be withdrawn and the native forces disarmed. But if they could achieve all that then he did not see why they needed a new formula for they would have solved the present deadlock.

In the problem as it had been tackled by the United Nations there were three things which the United Nations, after months of negotiation, had

achieved : (1) Cease fire ; (2) disarming of forces and their withdrawal ; (3) holding of a plebiscite. The first of these had been brought about. It now remained to withdraw the forces from the State to enable a plebiscite to be held. If that could be done then why at this stage should they bring in a new formula which might take years to settle ? It seemed to be simpler to get at the problem on the basis of the maximum amount of agreement already existing between the various parties to the dispute. If they were going to take all the trouble of doing these things why not take the plebiscite and let Kashmir say what it wanted to do, making its decision free and unfettered ? This was one of the subjects occupying the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth in London during the present week.

This was a matter of great moment not only to Pakistan but to the whole question of the peace of Asia. To produce at this stage a new formula to which none of the parties involved had agreed was not to look at it from a practical point of view. In saying this he was voicing the feelings of the people of Pakistan, whose progress and development had been practically stopped because of this Kashmir problem. Vast sums of money were being spent in the country in maintaining defence forces and there was no man, woman or child who was not affected. He pleaded for rendering all possible assistance to the parties concerned who had already arrived at a certain agreement and who might with such assistance go on towards a full solution of the problem.

A JOINT STATE

Sir ALEXANDER GRAY said that some few months ago he wrote to Sir Godfrey Davis putting forward a suggestion, and when he heard Sir Godfrey Davis's views expressed that afternoon he was greatly impressed—a sovereign State for Kashmir—and even more impressed by what Sir Kenneth Fitze had said. But he was rather "bowled over" when the editor of *Dawn* made a very convincing speech entirely on the other side. He had really come to the conclusion that there was a great deal of commonsense in his own original suggestion, that of a joint State. He wondered whether Sir Godfrey Davis would kindly tell them something about the proposal for a joint State.

Sir GODFREY DAVIS said that he had had the letter to which Sir Alexander Gray referred and he had sent it on to a friend of his in India for comment and so far it had not been returned. Sir Alexander Gray had suggested that there should be in Kashmir two district magistrates in every district, one a Hindu and the other a Muhammedan, and that in

every Government office there should be a duplication of the administration, of Hindus and Muhammedans, the two apparently sitting on different sides of the table or side by side. His own view was that the suggestion was so impracticable that he did not carry it further.

Mr. A. C. C. HARVEY said that the suggestion which had been put forward in that discussion was superficially attractive, but he did not think it was practicable. He could not see how anybody who looked into the matter fairly and examined all the factors, geographical, economic, and so on, could reject the idea that Kashmir should be mainly part of Pakistan. If India could rise to the occasion and perform a gracious act of concession to Pakistan he thought it would be a crowning service to Asia and to the world. The United Nations should go through with its recommendations and should direct a plebiscite, which India should not be allowed to obstruct. If a plebiscite was taken with the Indian Government in command it would have exactly the same value as a plebiscite in pre-war Germany conducted by Hitler.

Mr. UPSAL said that the ground which he had intended to cover had been most ably covered by other speakers, but to be quite honest he wanted to make one point. If an attempt were made to create Kashmir as a sovereign State they might be creating another Korea and having another 38th parallel. They had been told how difficult it would be to create such a sovereign State, but there was a further question: If they did succeed in creating it, how would they hold it? That was the great problem to be decided.

KASHMIR UNHEARD

Sir GODFREY DAVIS, who was asked by the Chairman to reply to the discussion said that there were only a few points that he thought worth answering. The editor of *Dawn* had asked why the United Nations should start the whole thing again. U.N. had already decided that certain lines should be followed and they should follow them. His answer was that India had been heard and Pakistan had been heard, because they had the right of audience to the United Nations, but Kashmir had not been heard. If the party chiefly concerned was not heard the decision given should be open to revision.

Another speaker had said that Kashmir was economically dependent on Pakistan. Well, he supposed that it might be said that Switzerland was economically bound up with Europe, but could it be said that because Switzerland had made watches for the Germans and for the French

therefore it should be annexed by Germany or France? Speakers had asked why the proceedings should not go on and the plebiscite be taken. The answer was that everybody had been trying to make conditions possible and had failed. He imagined that it was unnecessary to ask the Kashmiris whether they desired to be free and not to be made a subject of discussion and decision between other Powers. The question was, what was a practical solution? The editor of *Dawn* might give some attention to the resolution regarding Libya, to which he had referred in his opening remarks. There the General Assembly reaffirmed its recommendation that, upon its establishment as an independent State, Libya be admitted to the United Nations in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter. Perhaps Switzerland and Sweden and the South American countries, when they were asked—as someone had suggested—to work in the cause of peace in such a lovely and beautiful country as Kashmir might agree to do so.

A HARD NUT TO CRACK.

The CHAIRMAN said that the position had been most lucidly explained to them by Sir Godfrey Davis, and after all these remarks had been made his mind went back to a very long time ago when he had the privilege of being an A.D.C. for a few months. This was the first occasion on which he had met those in high authority and he remembered hearing one very senior officer say to another that they had put case after case to a certain Viceroy for a long time and had awaited His Excellency's decision until the files had grown out of all bounds. Eventually the private secretary wrote as follows: "On this, your Excellency, there can be only one of two decisions, either A or B. It is merely for your Excellency to initial in the margin." The note was returned by His Excellency with the following initialled in the margin: "Yes, this is going to be a hard nut for someone to crack."

This business of Kashmir was a business of vital importance. It was a question on which India and its Government and Pakistan and its Government felt most deeply. But they were not only the ones who felt it. There were many of them who had given long service in one or other or both of these countries, and it was not only they themselves who had done that, but some of them formed a third or even a fourth generation of service in the sub-continent. They had given of their best to the sub-continent and he declared with the greatest confidence that what they had given had been good, and they had a very great respect and affection for both these countries.

He himself held very strong views on the point under debate that afternoon, but it was not for him to express them or sum up the discussion.

Each one of those present had undoubtedly got his or her own opinion as to a possible solution. He hoped that the Prime Ministers of the Dominions now in London would arrive at some workable method. He asked Sir Hugh Garrett to do the summing-up.

THE SOLUTION OF INDEPENDENCE

Sir HUGH GARRETT said that he fully shared the views which Sir Godfrey Davis has set forth in their letter to *The Times* on November 10, and he had no other ideas on the subject apart from those. The idea which Sir Godfrey Davis had put forward was a simple one and no doubt carried the agreement of many.

Was an independent or semi-independent Kashmir practical also? Sir Godfrey and he had studied the various proposals including those made by Sir Owen Dixon, who acted as mediator. With regret they had found that no solution appeared possible. Therefore they had said, "Why not put forward this suggestion" (which Sir Godfrey had amplified in his address) which was possibly not new, but had not yet been recognized as an official solution. The difficulties raised by certain speakers that it would be impossible under the existing set-up or régime in Kashmir to obtain any kind of neutral Government had certainly to be considered.

They would all agree that there were very great difficulties, but without supporting any of the present authorities, of which indeed they had very little knowledge, they felt it that would be possible to have a certain provisional Government which could carry on without being attached to either of the great adjoining nations. That was really the only point involved in to-day's discussion. He would like those present seriously to consider this matter, leaving aside all the questions which had been thrashed out, as to whether one side was an aggressor and another was suffering aggression, as to whether one Government was truly representative and not another, and so on. These points led to nothing; they had resulted only in a very unfortunate impasse. If they could agree with Sir Godfrey's proposal and give it as much publicity as possible no-one would be more grateful than themselves.

WOULD IT BRING PEACE?

Sir HARRY HAIG proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Godfrey Davis and the Chairman. He said that this had been a most absorbing discussion and Brig. Smyth had already commented on the cleverness of Sir Frank Brown in arranging it at this timely moment. Sir Godfrey had put

forward a notable proposal and had supported it with great ability and conviction. The result had been one of the most interesting discussions they had ever had in their Association. Here was a novel idea which had been very carefully studied and debated, and it had been extremely interesting to see the reactions of the audience. He thought it an ideal scheme, even an idealistic scheme, but he would be very sorry himself to reach any conclusions on what they had heard to-day, because there were so many aspects of the proposal which had not yet been fully explored. It was possible that if an independent Kashmir were set up it would merely become a field of acute controversy between India and Pakistan and the last stage might be worse than the first, although, on the other hand, it might be possible by a constitutional device to meet the situation.

THE NEW DISPENSATION IN SOUTH INDIA

AT A JOINT MEETING of the Association with the Over-Seas League held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W.1, on Thursday, November 30, 1950, Sir JAMES NUTTALL, presiding. The address of Mr. A. A. HAYLES on the foregoing subject was reproduced in the January ASIATIC REVIEW (pages 22-30).

The CHAIRMAN said that it was a great pleasure to preside and particularly to see present so many old friends from Madras. He was very pleased also to welcome Mr. Hayles, a very old friend. Mr. Hayles had spent nearly 38 years in Madras, for 22 of which he had been Editor of the *Madras Mail*. He first joined that paper in 1912, when it was known as the *Madras Times* which was amalgamated with the *Mail* in 1919. The names of Hayles and the *Mail* were as synonymous in South India as Scott and the *Manchester Guardian*, or Garvin and the *Observer* in this country. Independent to the core, his personal philosophy was true liberalism, not only the liberty of the press but of the individual without exception.

Religion and politics always found a knight in arms in Mr. Hayles. He had a flair for public finance, he apprehended and set out most clearly the most complicated of State budgets. When Madras was the one province which made a success of Dyarchy the *Mail* had a lot to do with it; when the Congress Party first formed a Government he urged that they should be given every chance without interference or correction from Governor or Viceroy. Two or three years later when war conditions temporarily necessitated a reversion to autocracy Hayles strongly

advised the Governor and his Advisors to act on any debatable issue as though the question were before a Parliament. Although a staunch upholder of responsible government he was no respecter of officials who made mistakes or attempted to "pull wool" over the eyes of the public.

His latest effort had been an attempt to expose conditions bordering on famine in South India. This has caused some heartburning in official circles but because his cause was incontrovertible he made a success of it and thousands of people all over South India blessed now his name. He had carried on a crusade to improve the conditions of service for nurses and had always been keen to maintain the beauty of town and countryside.

Mr. Hayles had served on the Corporation of Madras, with the Madras Port Trust, the South Indian Automobile Association and the Trades Association. Of the latter two bodies he was Chairman.

During the war he was a highly valuable member of the Publicity Committee of the Governor's War Fund and later of a similar organization known as the War Publicity Department.

Mr. Hayles then read his paper.

LORD ERSKINE'S RECOLLECTIONS

Lord ERSKINE, GCSI, GCIE, congratulated Mr. Hayles on an absorbing address. He still seemed to be following his old policy of not being afraid to attack whatever Government was governing Madras, though in his (the speaker's) own time as Governor of Madras Mr. Hayles and he were the best of friends.

With regard to prohibition, which started while he was Governor, he was always opposed to it. In a country where every palm tree was a potential illicit still, he thought, all that would happen would be the loss of a vast amount of revenue and that a great deal more liquor would be drunk, and that seemed to be what had happened. Mr. Rajagopalachariar was a sincere and convinced prohibitionist and his idea was to stop Untouchables drinking.

The speaker remembered that when the Congress Government went out of office and he had to take over under Section 93 he wanted to abolish prohibition in those areas where the Congress authorities had introduced it, but superior authority did not agree. He did not extend it, however, and what was received from the Sales Tax more than replaced the revenue which had been lost. His advisers were very anxious to retain that extra fund but he believed in the old Gladstonian adage that money was best left to fructify in the pockets of the taxpayer and in the only budget which he introduced he halved the Sales Tax to the disquiet of some of his advisers. He thought that in the long run prohibition in India would

follow the same path as it followed in America. After all people had to try out their theories and that theory was now being tried out in India. He thanked Mr. Hayles for a very interesting address and wished him all good luck on his return to India. He hoped that he and the *Madras Mail* would have a considerable effect on the policies of the Madras Government.

VIEWS OF A SOUTH INDIAN JOURNALIST

Mr. VANKOBA RAO (editor of a Mysore newspaper) said that Mr. Hayles had analysed the situation in India with remarkable insight. As the editor of a great paper, he was moulding public opinion in India in general and in South India in particular. In the absence of an opposition party the part of the opposition fell to be played mostly by newspapers and Mr. Hayles was fulfilling that part in a very remarkable way. His present survey bore ample testimony to this.

He thought Mr. Hayles had over-emphasized the fact that the Federal aspect of the Indian Constitution had been more and more ignored, that the centre was taking more and more powers into its hands and that the freedom of the units had been very much curtailed. This policy was developing, as the problems which had to be faced by the Central Government were increasing. A few months back Pradhana Siromani Madhava Rao, ex-Dewan of Mysore, cautioned his countrymen against the over-centralization of powers at the Centre and its effects of hindering the enterprise and initiative of the units. But conditions in India were abnormal and fraught with grave possibilities. Hence a strong centre was necessary for a decade at least. That was the reason, he thought, why the Provinces were willing to part with some powers which normally belonged to them. He wished to emphasize the point that the authority of the Centre was enhanced only after mutual consultation and framing of the Constitutions.

A NATIONAL FOOD POLICY

Mr. Hayles had spoken of the food problem. To a very great extent it was a legacy of the past ; there was food shortage long since but during the war and afterwards the problem had assumed alarming proportions. Herculean efforts were being made to solve the problem. Because of its far-reaching implications on the economy and stability of the country, the Centre, with the concurrence of the units, took the wise decision to make it a central subject. India should be self-supporting in food. It was wrong to depend upon foreign aid. Keeping this in view, the Centre

had evolved many co-ordinated schemes for enabling India to grow all her own food. Many programmes had been put into effect. The system of procuring and distributing grain had been put on a more national basis.

In his own State of Mysore, the Government, with the financial assistance of the Centre, had put into operation a scheme which would go a long way to meet the deficiency. The Bhadra project, which would cost Rs. 20 crores, on completion would irrigate nearly two lakhs of acres; the Tunga project was in full swing; Rural electrification schemes were being pushed through with vigour, but there was lack of essential materials such as transformers. The Centre was actively helping the States with grants and contributions.

It must go to the credit of the Madras Government that it had pursued a very bold prohibition policy, the beneficent results of which could be judged only after a generation. It was a very great experiment worthy of emulation by other state governments. Some of these had shown marked reticence, possibly due to advice from the Centre, to proceed cautiously. Madras had not basically differed from the Centre in this respect, so he could not agree with the statement that it had dared to differ from the central Government and the party hierarchy.

Mr. Hayles had spoken about the plans drawn up by the Education, Agricultural, Public Health, Industry and other national departments at the Centre. He had said that the States were expected to accept these plans without demur, and to incorporate them in their own restrictive programmes of development. According to Mr. Hayles, the Centre had threatened to withhold grants in aid if they did not do so. He wished Mr. Hayles had given a few examples to substantiate the statement. The Central Planning Commission had been constituted to secure all-round development in the States, to prevent over-lapping and duplication of industries and to avoid waste. The constitution of the Commission had been welcomed by all the States in India and he believed its existence augured well for the progress of the country as a whole.

India within three years of attaining freedom had to its credit some remarkable achievements. If it had not been confronted with such appalling problems—the refugees, the Communist menace, the ill effects of earthquakes and floods, and not least, the Kashmir issue—its successes in various fields of activity would have been phenomenal.

Mr. Hayles had correctly spoken of the new spirit of India, and confessed his robust faith in the future of the country. With that faith and with the goodwill and sympathy of other freedom-loving lands the people of India would march towards the cherished goal of peace, prosperity and happiness not only of themselves but also of the world.

PROHIBITION AND TAXATION

Sir HUGH HOOD said that the picture Mr. Hayles had presented was a gloomy one relieved possibly by some small rays of hope. It was a good sign that there were indications that the Ministries were now getting away from the dictates of party propaganda and coming down to policies prescribed by economic necessities.

That did not apply to the two major problems of food control and prohibition, and in regard to these, as Lord Erskine had said, during the Advisers' war-time régime the Sales Tax was halved. Shortly afterwards it was felt that that was sufficient recognition of the origin of the taxation and it was doubled. He could not see what justification there could be for giving up a very large amount of revenue unless prohibition was going to be effectively enforced. In 1940 the Government came to the conclusion that enforcement was not effective, that there was a tremendous leakage and anybody could get almost anything they wanted to drink in the villages, and that the bulk of people took little interest in it.

Prohibition was therefore written off as a failure. Whether it was more successful now one did not know in England, but from what Mr. Hayles said it appeared that it was no more successful now than it was before. On that basis he could not see why the Government should forego that revenue.

FOOD AND POPULATION

In regard to food supplies the theory of self-sufficiency was a war product. He had hoped that by now most people concerned would have got over it but it appeared that it would take a few more years before it was realized that other considerations of reciprocity amongst nations was of more importance than individual nations being self-sufficient in this or that product. It was at present not possible to be self-sufficient in food grains and to do without imports. Production in Madras failed to meet the demand in 1920 and that gap between production and demand had been growing steadily for the last 30 years ; it was now fairly big and it would take many years to eliminate it.

When it was overcome it would solve only half the problem. During the war it was possible to carry out a scheme for controlling prices, supply and movement of food very largely because there were large stocks in the country. The extent of those stocks was never specifically stated in figures but it was believed, and there was strong evidence to support the belief, that there was about two years' supply of grain in the country. Since then stocks had been heavily drawn upon and it was

now necessary not merely to close the gap between demand and production but to build up those stocks again. Until that was done it would be impossible to get back to comfortable conditions of widespread internal trade.

Mr. Hayles referred to the agitation for a separate Andhra State. He (Sir Hugh) had been acquainted with that problem for the last 40 years and he was unable to raise any sort of enthusiasm over it. A few political aspirants started the agitation 40 or 50 years ago, they had continued it ever since. Its support was mainly in the Kistna and Godavari deltas. The fact of the matter was that it was not possible to revive the supposed glories of the Andhra Kingdom which extended from sea to sea across the Deccan and faded out 1500 years ago. Moreover if the Madrassi people wanted to make their voices heard in Delhi, and that was a necessity which had been emphasized by Mr. Hayles, they would have to speak in unison, if they failed to do so the Centre would close its ears to the discordant cries which would reach it. The people could not afford to indulge in such fragmentation and create another Orissa.

PROHIBITION ANOMALIES

Mr. FAIRLEY said he had just returned from a visit to India after an absence of some 16 months and could confirm what Mr. Hayles had said with regard to the shortage of foodstuffs, also the fact that the people were only getting 4 or 6 ozs. of rice and not the statutory 12 ozs. Servants in the club whom one had known for many years went about with tears in their eyes about this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

There were one or two sidelights about this prohibition question ; Bombay was entirely dry but he got a good bottle of whisky in Bombay within two hours of arrival at the airport, much more easily than he could get it in London. In Madras he had no difficulty ; he applied for a licence three weeks before he left London and received it the day before he left Madras.

In the district of Malabar of which he was so fond—he called himself a native by adoption—he had been fighting for years for a hospital, some Rs. 14 lakhs were spent on building it ; but now, because of prohibition, the Government had no money with which to equip it and the hospital building was empty. One other aspect was that the evening plane from Madras to Mysore, and the morning plane next morning had now a full complement of Indian merchants who formerly resided in Madras.

Had Mr. Hayles found within the last few years any change or any difference between the executive and the judiciary from the high standard

for which the administration was known prior to 1947, and which was one of the prized achievements of British service to India ?

COMMUNISM

Sir FRANCIS LOW said that he rose with great diffidence as a Bombay man in an atmosphere which was predominantly Madrassi. From what he had heard he was convinced more than ever of the superiority of the place from which he had come !

Having heard the grievances of the people of Madras in connexion with food, prohibition and many other things, could Mr. Hayles say whether there was growing in Madras any form of organized Parliamentary opposition to Congress, the ruling party to-day. In the old days the Madras Government was held up as one of the model governments of the country.

The other point was that when he was last in Madras he was told by the then Governor, Sir Archibald Nye, that the problem of Communism was a very serious one, that Communism in Madras had gone into the country districts, and that it was conducted by a band of very able and active young men who had at their command some very intelligent newspapers. He would like to know whether communism was growing in Madras or whether it was declining.

Finally, speaking as one editor about another, he thought Mr. Hayles must be the father of all editors in India. He seemed to have sat in his editorial chair for an incredible length of time. Probably that was because he swam in the sea every morning for at least an hour.

Dr. S. D. MALAIPERUMAN wished to ask about the Hindi language controversy in South India. There had been some talk of forcing Hindi in the schools and colleges by legislation and he would like to know what was happening in that connexion.

They could not get away from the problem of food in India to-day by explaining that it was a legacy of the past, it was a very wrong thing to do when they had a Government of their own trying to tackle the problem. The Government should give high priority to the food question ; it should take first place in the plan, programme and policy of the Government of India lest they should be exposed to the menace of totalitarian forces. In spite of what Sir Francis Low said about the superiority of Bombay he was happy to be present as a Madrassi and to acclaim Mr. Hayles as a great South Indian—for he had served South India for 25 years. He had been fearless and independent and had attacked all Governments, past and present. One of the weaknesses

in India to-day was the lack of a strong opposition so that one was grateful to men like Mr. Hayles and such newspapers as the *Mail* for proclaiming from the house tops anything that went wrong and needed attention.

THE REPLY OF MR. HAYLES

Mr. HAYLES, in reply, first referred to the Zamindari question. He pointed out that the landholder had not merely been a landholder ; he had been the financier of cultivation, he had been the friend, the man who made the loans, advanced money for bullocks. He had taken a part in cultivation which no Government official could possibly take. He held the same position as the squire in the old days in England ; he looked after and helped the whole village. The small landholders or tenants had always looked to the landholder for the help they needed. They could not get that facility from the Government ; they had to go to a co-operative society, whose officials wanted a rake-off.

The rice ration of 6 ozs. per day was not very much when it was cooked and there was nothing else to go with it. He had been asked if there was any noticeable unhappiness between the Muslims and Hindus, That was a difficult question, naturally there was a belief on the part of the majority community that it should have 85 per cent profits of office, and in Hyderabad and in Madras no Muslims had been recruited to the upper ranks of the police since the new Government took over because they wanted to restore proportional representation. All recruitments from a community which had too many was stopped until others reached the level, and that was causing hard feelings.

He was deeply touched by the tributes paid to him. It was good to know that what one had tried to do was appreciated. Lord Erskine, with whom it was a great pleasure to be associated, was much more accessible than any Madras minister of to-day. He could go over to Government House and see him at any time. Now if he wanted to see the Prime Minister he had to give a month's notice. The Prime Minister never spoke in the House, the Finance Minister was the Government Spokesman.

A strong Centre might be necessary on four subjects, defence, foreign relations, Commonwealth relations to prevent disputes between the composite states, and perhaps an over-riding control of finance with regard to loans.

LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES

Hindi was not making any progress in Madras except amongst the newcomers. There had been a tremendous influx of northerners who

were buying up businesses and getting all the commercial power into their hands. In South India there was a number of shops being run by the Dravidian parth, and he thought the Congress party would be foolish to ridicule them too much. The pushing the supremacy of the north on to the south was giving the Dravidian party a great filip. They were pressing Hindi on South India, they had to give the regional language first place and sooner or later they would have to restore English to a more prominent position. When one found that every politician in South India sent his children to a school to learn English one could be sure what the status of English would be later on.

He agreed with Sir Hugh Hood that prohibition was unenforceable but one would not get the party which had set it up to agree, not for five years at any rate. As for little enthusiasm for Andhra outside the delta areas, that might be so, but the whole structure of the Congress Party was on a linguistic basis, they had fomented this demand and stimulated it, and they were now trying to destroy it.

"Madras must speak with one voice," They never had spoken with one voice in the Congress Party, they had had five. Why should they not have five voices in the Centre?

There was a measure for the separation of the judiciary and the executive but the appointment of judges was retained in the hands of the Government and as long as that went on there was no separation. If the appointment of the district judges was handed to the High Court he would agree that separation was complete. If the promotion to the bench now was from district judges then the district judges would naturally be under an obligation to the people appointing them and to whom they were looking for future promotion. The Supreme Court had the power of appointing or nominating judges to the High Court and the High Court had the power to recommend a judge, but it did not have the final power in the districts.

Sir Francis Low asked if a formal opposition was growing. It would grow out of the Dravidian movement unless something could be done to secure equality of consideration between north and south. The Communists were growing, but they had changed their tactics. They had abandoned terrorism almost entirely, the police had seen to that, there had been as many casualties amongst the Communists as amongst the police. The movement was growing in the plantations and in the Tanjore and Raj Districts. The Congress Party had not faced up to this yet.

Mr. EDWIN HAWARD expressed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Hayles for his paper and to Sir James Nuttall for presiding.

FESTIVAL OF BRITAIN, 1951

EMPIRE SOCIETIES' RIVERSIDE CLUB

AS PART of the celebrations of the Festival of Britain and as an additional amenity to their members, particularly those coming from overseas, the Empire Societies have arranged for a Riverside Club, which will be moored to the Embankment at the end of Northumberland Avenue and thus immediately opposite the Exhibition on the other side of the river.

The Club will be open from 3.30 to 10.30 p.m., except on Sundays, from early May to the end of September, and its use will be restricted to members of the Societies and their guests. Season tickets costing £1 (single) and 30/- (double) may be bought in advance and day tickets (1/-) will also be on sale at the gate. Refreshments and a bar will be provided. As the space will be limited, it will be advisable to make early application for season tickets. The East India Association (India, Pakistan and Burma) is a member of the Conference of Empire Societies. Applications should be made to the Hon. Secretary, 3 Victoria Street, S.W.1, who will forward them to the issuing office. All tickets will be strictly personal and non-transferable. A double season-ticket holder may introduce a guest, who must accompany such holder.

The proximity of the Club to the Exhibition should certainly make it a great attraction, especially as there will be a large programme of aquatic and other events in connexion with the Festival on this stretch of the river.

THE OBJECTS AND POLICY OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION (INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA)

IN 1866, eight years after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, the East India Association was formed with the object of "the promotion of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally." This object was steadfastly pursued during the ensuing eighty-one years. The Independence of India and Pakistan attained in 1947, while modifying the original conception, has increased the need for strengthening the bonds of friendship and the importance of mutual understanding between the people of Britain and the inhabitants of the countries formerly comprising the India Empire—namely, India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. The Association therefore looks forward to the continuance of its work, with the assistance of all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of these countries, by the methods which have proved so helpful in the past, namely:

1. By lectures on current questions affecting those countries and publication of the same.
2. By providing opportunities for the free discussion of important questions affecting India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma.
3. By promoting friendly contact between the peoples of these countries and of Britain through the medium of social and other gatherings.
4. Generally by the promulgation of reliable information regarding the countries named.

The Association is essentially non-official in character and has no connexion with any political party. It seeks to provide an open platform for the consideration of current problems relating to India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. It welcomes as members all those who are interested in their welfare and progress.

Papers are read and discussed throughout the year, except in the months of August and September. Members are entitled to invite friends to these meetings.

Annual Subscription payable in advance, £1 5s. The Life Subscription is £14.

For members joining after October 15, the first subscription will cover the ensuing calendar year.

Members receive the ASIATIC REVIEW each quarter, free, by post.

PAKISTAN'S GEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

By A CORRESPONDENT

AS IS GENERALLY KNOWN by this time, Pakistan has great natural resources but although she has certain relatively small flourishing industries her industrial development is only beginning. Her geological resources are in an even earlier state of evolution. For that reason they hold out high hopes of being a cardinal means of raising the general prosperity of the country and the standard of living. Considerable publicity has been given to the need for capital and opportunities for investors and the non-agricultural fruits of the earth are attracting attention although, with certain exceptions, return on capital outlay in that respect will have to be slower than profits from industries the vast expansion of which is already in sight aided by hydro-electric and other projects which are already in various states of development.

The geological promise of the country cannot be assessed without taking into consideration general development projects and industry. Coal and oil will assist industry to be self-supporting. Then, looking some few years forward, Pakistan may not be excluded from the benefits of material for atomic energy, although a difficulty in that sphere may be the inaccessibility, due to terrain, of what basic materials are possibly available. Steps have already been taken to search for uranium in the most promising places.

However, activity in that direction does at least show that not only obvious steps but *all* steps are being taken to see that there is no backsliding from the sound financial present and promising economic future of this young country.

One of the greatest economic handicaps imposed on Pakistan at the time of partition—a handicap which was of course accepted with open eyes by the Founder and his helpers—was that all but a little coal was left in the Indian part of the sub-continent. The difficulty was increased by the refusal of India to trade at Pakistan's non-devalued currency level and this snag, at the moment of writing, seems to have a good chance of being overcome as the result of renewed Indo-Pakistan trade relations but the latter would be the happier if she could develop power resources making her more independent of mined fuel than she is at present or can hope to be for some time. Coal has been imported and paid for largely by money earned from raw jute. It may be a long day before the wealth derived from jute is threatened by more successful attempts to develop economic synthetic substitutes for the natural fibre, but Pakistan's leaders have not lacked foresight and all products, whether

above ground or below, are under continual survey. Outside help by technicians is often called upon. Oil technologists have long been at work, the chief oil interests being British, and recently a coal survey has been made by foreign experts.

The present head of the department concerned with geological products—the Geological Survey of Pakistan—is a Briton, D. H. Crookshank, and he recently gave an account of the department's work which is the chief source of up-to-date information on the subject. Let us see what he had to say, which is neither unduly imaginative or over-optimistic but is charged with his own sober generalization: "Geological survey is a slow process." The following review of geological progress is mainly concerned with its aspect during the past year and is chiefly over and above information to be found in books of reference, which are not good on the subject, partly because owing to the circumstances of partition of the sub-continent it has been difficult for their editors to keep them up to date but more because only after partition did geological survey become dynamic and enterprising, spurred by the necessity of seeking every means of achieving the greatest measure of self-sufficiency as quickly as possible.

While a British oil company was boring for oil at a new site (an attempt which failed but did not mean any less chance of future new petroleum supplies and did not daunt the firm), and commercial experts were reporting on the stepping-up of coal supplies by modernization and the better use of existing sources, the Geological Survey had its eye on lignite. This, of course, is of similar origin to coal but there is not short cut to its economic use as fuel. Debris of pre-historic forests is plentiful in Bengal and while West Bengal (India) has most of the coal in the whole sub-continent, East Bengal (Pakistan) has some compensation in lignite possibilities. Dr. Crookshank has been at pains to make clear to the public that it is not to be taken for granted at present that what he called in a popular broadcast in Pakistan "this strange black mud" could become a substitute for coal but he was hopeful that, given proper technical treatment, it might do so.

Dr. Crookshank said that his department was busy on an area at Harashpur not far from Brahmánbaria last year and found a minimum of nine feet of lignite over a large area, the lignite being covered by a few feet of alluvial clay. This year they had got to the bottom of the lignite and found it was 15 feet deep in parts. They now knew that there were two hundred million tons of lignite in an easily accessible area. It has been reported that this lignite can be excavated cheaply and without difficulty. The substance is known to be of rather lower grade than similar material in Australia and Germany. In the former country it

is burnt by specially designed plant but of its value there can be no doubt as it provides Melbourne with its entire electric supply and that quite cheaply. In Australia lignite, converted into briquettes, is the poor man's fuel and there is hope that in Bengal it may fulfil a similar function, thus replacing the precious cow-dung. It is interesting to note that lignite is similar to Irish peat and this is used for improvement of the soil, even being exported from Ireland for that purpose. The Pakistan lignite, at the top layers, contains in the dried state about 3 per cent of nitrogen. Also in East Bengal there are clays and glass sands. The Geological Survey is also working lignites in Sind. But it is not yet known if the seams will thicken or die out. Obviously if future work on them gives favourable figures the power problem of Karachi and its surroundings and industries might be completely altered. Dr. Crookshank reports that at present pits are being driven through limestone a mile from the known deposits. If results are encouraging further drilling will take place.

In Baluchistan there has been recently found a thick belt of laterite which is expected to yield a certain amount of bauxite. As the Director of the Geological Survey has pointed out bauxite is a mineral which cannot be identified without a chemical laboratory and the necessary equipment is so far not available.

Chromite was known to exist near Hindubagh and a number of new deposits, although small, have now been found at Fort Sandeman. There are thin lenses of manganese ore at Las Bela and it is thought that it may be possible to work the ore. World prices are very high and the deposits are reasonably near the port of Karachi. Here again, admittedly, there will have to be much investigation and chemical analysis before commercial production could begin.

Antimony ores exist in Chitral and indeed there had already been worked during the last war, the smelting being done in Bombay. The trouble then was the cost of transport as only 20 to 25 per cent antimony was found in the basic material. Chitral antimony contains lead and local smelting is recommended. It can be derived at quite a low temperature as is being done in Czechoslovakia with wood fuel, which is available in Chitral.

Near Quetta people engaged on archaeological research found an oxidized lead ore known as cerussite and it is hoped that there may be chances of finding large deposits of lead ore in Baluchistan.

In the Himalayas Geological survey parties found small quantities of copper but generally in such inaccessible places that no very promising prospects could be held out except in the case of the copper ore north of

Fort Sandeman. The ores are rich but are on a small scale and it is not likely, on that account, that they will be worked.

Coming to gold and gems, gold is no new thing in the Chitral river but during the last two periods of Pakistan's Geological Survey more information has been made available. In good patches in Chitral, which are however of small extent, the gravel yields 20 grains of gold to the cubic yard and on the average two or three grains of gold are present to the cubic yard of gravel. This gravel is in large quantities and can be worked by dredger or dragline. At present information of this gold is confined to surface gravels examined when the river is low. The possibilities of the greater quantities of gravel lower down are not known. To test this would again need equipment which is not available at the present time. Dr. Crookshank thinks it quite possible that gold-dredging in the Himalayas may be a commercial proposition in course of time.

In Chitral Geological working parties have found crystals of beryl and topaz. These unfortunately, although very pretty, are not of much value, but there are hopes that gem stones will be found high up in the Himalayas.

Enough has been said to show (i) that raw geological products of Pakistan offer no quick solution to the further strengthening of the country's economic situation and (ii) there is a vast amount of territory the resources of which cannot be estimated. In regard to gold and petroleum there is no doubt that everything is being done in a practical sense to extract the best from the ground. In certain other respects, where the prospects are more speculative, the situation is still in a more or less academic state but with a more settled feeling in world finance doubtless there would be no lack of money forthcoming for probing even the speculative chances.

A PERSIAN DIPLOMATIC VENTURE

By ABDY HAMZAVI

AFTER THE FALL of Constantinople in A.D. 1453, and the progressive extermination of the Byzantine and Slav states of Greece and the Balkans, the Republic of Venice found itself faced with the compact and aggressive military power of the Ottoman Turks.

Though still able to maintain her power by sea, the Serene Republic was unable to contend with such formidable adversaries by land. The

greatest efforts were made by the Signoria to effect a Christian League against the Turks and to attain, by diplomacy, oriental allies against the Ottoman. In other words, to attain by diplomacy what could no longer be attained by force of arms.

The search for oriental allies was energetically carried on by a series of Venetian envoys, who travelled into regions of the east that were at that time little known to the western world.

Particular attention was paid to the shifting and transient kingdoms of Eastern Anatolia, whose geographical position made them valuable allies against the Turks, and to Persia which at that time was passing through almost a period of anarchy prior to her renaissance under the Safavid dynasty in the early XVIth century.

The first of these envoys was sent out in 1463 and returned to Venice in 1471 together with an envoy from Uzun Hassan, Chief of the Ak Koyunlu tribes, who was the virtual ruler of Persia. The Ak-Koyunlu, or "White Sheep" dynasty, known also from a remote ancestor as Bayenderi, was founded towards the end of the IVth century, as that of their rivals, the Kara Koyunlu, or the "Black Sheep" (the tribe bearing a black sheep on its standards) in Armenia and Mesopotamia. Their capital was Diarbekr in Anatolia.

Uzun Hassan was married to a daughter of Calo Johannes, one of the last emperors of Trebizond. Another daughter of the same emperor had married Nicolo Crespo, the Duke of Archipelago. One of his sons, Caterina Zeno, a merchant prince of Venice, was appointed as envoy to the Court of Uzun Hassan, in order to persuade the Persian ruler to attack Mohammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople. Later in that year Josufa Barbaro was sent to Persia on the same mission.

Caterino Zeno was well received at the Court of Uzun Hassan and the Persian ruler was easily persuaded to attack the Ottoman Empire in conjunction with the fleets of Venice, which were operating on the coast of Armenia. In A.D. 1472 hostilities were opened and a horde of light horsemen ravaged Asia Minor, but met with stern resistance from the Sultan's army. In the following year a powerful army of the Osmanlu invaded Persia but retired after being repulsed in a desperate attempt to cross the Euphrates. Uzun Hassan, who had pursued, was in turn defeated and forced to retreat. After this, Caterino Zeno was sent as Ambassador from Uzun Hassan to rouse the princes of Christendom, and Josufa Barbaro took his place, but not receiving support from Europe, Uzun Hassan wisely made no second attack on the formidable Ottoman Empire. Two years later, yet another envoy, Ambrogio Contarini, was sent out. Diplomatic efforts then seem to have ceased for almost fifty years.

At least three of these envoys, who usually held the title of ambassador but whose powers and duties were far from those we usually associate with the title to-day, have left accounts of their missions. These accounts are a valuable source of information concerning the history, institutions and daily life of the Persians in the late XVIth century.

The most detailed of these accounts are by Josufa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini. The account by Vatarino Zeno, although his mission was contemporary, is later in date, but to it he has added a short account of Persian history in the times of Ismail Sufy, whose main historical claim to fame is his encouragement of Persian national feeling against their former Arab conquerors and who was the founder of the Safavid dynasty.

It is somewhat difficult to understand why three so-called ambassadors should have been sent out from Venice to Uzun Hassan in as many years. One plausible explanation is that they were no more than individual goodwill missions. Another may be that the route was so hazardous and uncertain that it was felt safer to send several persons separately in order to ensure that at least one would reach his goal. It must also be borne in mind that communications were subject to such delays that, if some important point came up after the departure of an envoy, it might well have been considered that the most expeditious course was to appoint another, and special, representative to deal with it.

The trials and tribulations encountered by every one of these envoys, and described feelingly in their accounts, lend much colour to these assumptions.

In 1471 Persia, or at least Uzun Hassan, had sent a mission to Venice, to come to an understanding about the dangers inherent in the expansion of the Ottoman Turks. The Persian envoy left Venice the same year, accompanied by Josufa Barbaro as Venetian Ambassador. The two envoys set sail together with a number of galleys containing men and munitions, for Cyprus. They arrived at Famagusta, only to find that it was not possible to reach Persia by direct land route, in so far as all the coastal cities were in Ottoman hands.

Barbaro seems to have interpreted his mission in very broad terms for we next find him participating in a campaign on the mainland.

Eventually, however, he evidently considered it time for him to resume his journey, and set off into Asia Minor through Armenia and reached Kurdistan in April, 1474, a delay which illustrates both Barbaro's leisurely habits and the difficulties of the journey. He had probably decided to linger in Cyprus until a suitable moment to commence his long trek through Asia Minor.

Here, he and his party were ambushed by the Kurds and the Persian envoy and three other members of his party were killed, and much of their property stolen. Barbaro, either through undue discretion or devotion to his mission, put his own safety first and saved himself by galloping away. With the remnant of his attendants, he reached Vastan, south of Van (now ruined and deserted) and put up at an inn where he sent a message to "King Assambei" (probably against Uzun Hassan) of Persia advising him of his arrival.

He had his first audience the following morning and he tells us that, due to the Kurdish ambush, he appeared "so yll apparailled that I darr assure you all I had about me was not worthe 2 ducates." (The translation of Barnaro's experience is by William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to King Edward VIth, an erudite but choleric Welshman who was finally hanged for treason at Tyburn in 1553 ; I have left the original English.)

It appears, however, that Barbaro was able to retain his notes of his journeys, for, in between his accounts of his troubles with the Kurds, he finds time to comment on the silk trade with China and on the habits and appearance of the local vipers.

Apparently, however, the grape-vine telegraph worked well in Persia in those days, for the King told him that he had already learned of the death of his Ambassador and the other members of the party, and Barbaro was entertained royally.

"The first day I came to hym he had divers syngers and plaiers, with harpes of a yarde long, which they holde with the charpe ende upwards ; and besides that lutes, rebickes, cymbals and baggepipes, all of which played agreeable. The next day he sent me twoo garmentes of sylke, that is, to witt, a straict gowne furred with barco and a jackett, a towell of sylke to girde me, a fyne peece of lynen called bumbasie to put on my hedde, and xx ducates, sending me worde w'thall that I shulde go to Maidan, that is, to witt, to the market place to see the tarafuccio, that is, to weete, the plaie."

Barbaro describes a court wherein feasting and amusements take a leading place. But, shortly after, when he was on a visit with the King, trouble broke out. One of the King's sons, Orgalu Mahumeth (Oghurlu Muhammad), believing his father to be dead, had captured the important city of Syras. The King then set out for Syras, 120 miles distant, but Barbaro, whose dislike for warfare we have already noted, went off by himself to see the countryside and entered a part of the country which he described as "verie barayn, drie, sandie and stonye, having fewe waters, so that where water is there be some townes ; though for the more parte destroyed ; one of which townes hath a castell fortified of earthe. Their cornes, vines and fructes encrease by force of their water ; for

where water is skarse there is harde dwelling ; nevertheless, they use to conveigh their water under earthe 4 and 5 daies journey from the rivers whence they fetche them."

After a considerable detour, Barbaro reached Syras, which was by then quiet. He found it a great entrepôt for merchandise from neighbouring countries, notably from Samarcand. In his subsequent travels he went as far as the Persian Gulf, the route, as he noted, of an important trade between Persia and India.

When he eventually started to return home it was with the satisfaction of believing that the Persians intended to resume their war against the Ottomans that had been interrupted after the former's defeat at Erzinjan some years before. He took the route via Tartary in company with a Persian envoy who was going the same way. But he found himself involved in the turmoil of dynastic wars and so returned to Tauris (Tabriz) in 1478 to find that the Shah was dying.

The turmoil that followed this event was such that Barbaro, dressed in his poorest clothes, rode speedily out of the country. His mission, in short, had failed.

Barbaro is a garrulous and entertaining traveller. More interesting than his political comments which are not profound and often ill-informed (he keeps telling us that in various important cities he had to remain concealed), are his comments on the people, the birds, beasts, flowers and animals of Asia Minor and Persia. On one occasion he has a most entertaining description of a giraffe, though he does not tell us how such an animal came to be exhibited in the King's "Tarafuccio," "a marvailouse faire beaste, but not like to beare any burden." He has much to say of methods of cloth manufacture, which doubtless interested him as a merchant, as were all Venetians. He has much to say of current prices and ends his despatch with an account of the dervishes who "are madde men esteemed to haue hollie spirites."

Ambrogio Contarini was appointed envoy to Persia two years after Barbaro's departure. However, we have already seen how slowly Barbaro reached his goal. Contarini took the land route through Germany, Poland, Russia and Tartary. It took him more than a year, an apt commentary on travelling conditions in those times. He passed through the then independent states of the Caucasus where he had more than his share of the usual oppression and opposition to travellers. The Lord of Mingrelia, for example, he describes as having the manners of a madman. Of Georgia he says : "I was very much annoyed during my stay, as the brutes appeared never to have seen-men before." He had "the very great desire to get out of that accursed country."

He had good reason to be annoyed, as even the King of Georgia had treated him in rather a cavalier fashion. After being informed of his presence the king's messenger "returned, accompanied by two of the king's clerks, who said that the King had gone to Cotachis (Kutais), and had sent them to look after the things which I had, to put them down in a letter, in order that I might be able to pass through the whole of the country without paying anything. They wanted to see everything, and to take a note even of the clothes I had on my back, which I thought very strange."

However, he was eventually allowed to go, though his account makes it quite clear that it was not "without paying anything," and after various other adventures reached Persia. At Tauris (Tabriz) he encountered yet another envoy from Venice, Bartolomeo Liompardo, who had travelled by way of Trebizond. For reasons of policy or discretion Contarini says that he was compelled to remain in hiding at Tauris and has therefore little to say of the city. However by chance he was able to meet with the "Cadi Lascher," one of the personages in the train of the Shah, and persuaded him to travel in his company. Although delayed by illness, he finally arrived at the city of Spaan (Ispahan) on October 30th, 1474, where, to his surprise, he met Barbaro whom he refers to as "our Ambassador." The two envoys saw the Shah together.

Contarini tells us : "When we dined with him, he took great pleasure in asking us about places in our country, and put some strange questions. His demeanour is certainly good ; and he is constantly surrounded by men of rank. At least four hundred people sat daily at his entertainments, and sometimes many more, all seated on the ground. The food is brought to them in vessels of copper, and consists sometimes of rice, sometimes of corn, with a little meat ; and it is a pleasure to see with what avidity it is eaten."

Contarini and Barbaro remained at Spaan for some time. A month or two later, yet another envoy arrived, a certain Friar Lodovico of Bologna who described himself as Patriarch of Antioch and stated that he was an Ambassador from the Duke of Burgundy. The Shah asked the two Venetians about this man and they vouched for him. But the Shah decided that Contarini must return to Venice, leaving Barbaro with him.

Despite his objections, Contarini was compelled to obey and left the country accompanied by the self-styled Patriarch of Antioch. His journey back was disastrous and illuminating. Before very long the Patriarch and the rest of the company left Contarini, who does not seem to have had the gift of inspiring confidence. Eventually, after great hardships, he reached Tiflis.

" We remained at Tiflis until the 21st of October ; on the day preceding which, as my good fortune would have it, there arrived the Turkish Ambassador, who had accompanied Brother Lodovico, the Patriarch of Antioch. From him I learnt when they had proceeded as far as Avogasia they had been robbed of everything and that the robbery was to be attributed to the Patriarch himself."

This episode reflects considerable credit on the acumen of the Shah.

The inability of Contarini to give any account of the city of Tabriz is compensated for by a long and detailed account by an unnamed Venetian merchant in Persia who has also left an account of his travels. " This great city is about twenty-four miles in circumference in my judgment and is without walls, like Venice. In it there are immense palaces, as memorials of the kings who have ruled over Persia. There are many splendid houses."

The description which is both long and interesting enumerates most of the great buildings of Tabriz at the time, including the great mosques. It would be interesting to know how he was enabled to get inside them.

THE NEW STATUS OF INDO-CHINA

By A CORRESPONDENT

THE PURPOSE of this paper is to summarize the results of the Conference held in Pau from June 23, to November 27, 1950, between France and the three associated states of Indo-China : Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

At the time that the conference was convened, all administrative departments in Indo-China had been handed over, or were in the process of being handed over, to the Associated States, with the exception of those which were considered as being " of common interest." namely : the Treasury, Customs, Foreign Trade, Plan of Equipment and Modernization, Telecommunications, Immigration.

The decisions reached at Pau have maintained the unity of the associate states in the fields of customs, economy and currency, whilst satisfying their national aspirations.

Therefore, it will, in the future, be the task of each of the Indo-Chinese States to maintain and safeguard this unity.

From this point of view it must be noted that the French approach to the building up of the French Union has grown more and more liberal since the concept of the French Union itself was launched in Brazzaville in 1944 by General de Gaulle.

This evolution was made in two stages :

(1) In the negotiations which preceded the agreements of 1949 with the Indo-Chinese States, France no longer claimed the position of the leader of a federation. Her aim was to be a partner in an association of four, having her say in the study of matters of common interest to the other partners, as well as in decisions and the implementation of regulations.

(2) Following the Pau conference, the concept of the " Fourth State " itself has been dropped. The three States will be at full liberty to decide between themselves in matters of common interest. The intervention of France will be limited :

(a) to the study of problems, when necessary to advise on the general interests of the French Union.

(b) to the making of decisions, where the interests of France or the French Union, are directly concerned.

The major decisions of the Pau conference are listed hereunder.

In the economic field, each State takes over control of its finances, currency, and foreign trade, with limitations in the common interest.

I.—*Customs* : The former federal Customs department is suppressed, to be replaced by departments on a national level. A Customs Union is established, to be supervised by a Customs Committee of technicians whose recommendations will be submitted to inter-state conferences for decisions.

France will be represented on these conferences only when questions affecting products coming from France or the French Union are raised. On the other hand the Indo-Chinese States will participate in decisions made by the French Customs authorities, when their own economy is interested.

II.—*Trade* : The principle of freedom of trade between the Associate States and the French Union is adopted. Questions of preferential tariffs will be dealt with by inter-state conferences, on which France will be represented only when decisions to be reached may have a bearing on the economy or finances of the French Union.

III.—*Finances* : The former French Central Bank is to be replaced by an inter-state organism. The central Treasury will be replaced by national Treasuries. The Exchange Control Office is replaced by an Exchange Control Department of the Inter-state Bank, which will supervise national exchange regulations.

IV.—*Telecommunications* : will be supervised by an inter-state organism and conferences on which France will be represented only for matters concerning traffic between the three States and other parts of the French Union.

v.—*Immigration* : Control of immigration is relinquished by France in favour of each state. A common policy will be established by inter-state conferences sitting from time to time. France will attend up to the moment when the associated states will have taken over from her the international obligations which she has so far assumed in relation to foreign countries.

vi.—*Equipment* : Research institutes and laboratories, in the fields of geology, mining, hydraulics, agriculture, are handed over by France to a “ Centre of scientific and technical research.”

National planning will be co-ordinated by a committee composed of members nominated in equal numbers by Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and France.

vii.—*Status of the port of Saigon* : The Pau conference was to deal with the economic and financial questions on its agenda, when Cambodia insisted on a priority for this matter, as well as for navigation on the Mekong River. There was an important difference of views between Vietnam and Cambodia on these problems. A compromise was eventually reached.

Sovereignty of Vietnam on the port of Saigon is formally acknowledged. The port, is however, open to the other parties on equal terms. A four-power board will be in charge of its administration.

viii.—*Navigation on the Mekong* : The states grant complete freedom of navigation on the Mekong river to all four parties and a mixed board is being set up.

SYRIAN NOTES

The port of Latakia has become the most important in Syria. During the first ten months of 1950 imports passing through the port reached 100,000 tons (mainly timber, iron, and cement), and the exports 125,000 tons (chiefly cotton, hides, wheat, and wool). During the same period 225 ships entered and 155 sailed. A credit of 400,000 Syrian pounds has been placed at the disposal of the Company of the port to enable further improvements to be made.

There is a wave of optimism in the country thanks to the cotton crop, which has been excellent in spite of the primitive methods of cultivation. With a view to their improvement, the Minister of Agriculture has gone

on a visit to Egypt to study improved cultivation, and also the soils that are best suited for the purpose.

Syria is developing cultural relations with Pakistan and has appointed a cultural attaché at the Embassy in Karachi, where an exhibition of Syrian books is being held. Five students from Pakistan are on a visit to Syria, and have been received by the Minister of Education.

Mr. Ali Akbar, doyen of the Arabs of the University of Sind, declared recently in an interview given to a paper in Damascus that 450 students of the University are becoming proficient in Arabic.

THE PEASANTS OF KOREA*

By J. M. SPEY

THERE ARE A VARIETY of reasons why 'the peasants of Korea' form the subject of this talk. The first; is that by sheer weight of numbers, they are Korea. The second is a personal liking for the people, in any country, who live on the land. And the third is, that however uneducated or unsophisticated he may be, the peasant is no fool.

During the weeks I spent recently in Korea, ending just before Seoul fell for the second time, I spent a good deal of my time talking with the peasants. Like most others who have visited that rugged and somewhat inhospitable land, I speak neither Korean nor Japanese, but a young Korean with an admirable command of English, acted as tongue and ears.

Before going any further, it might be as well to explain how he came to assist me. Having been a journalist all my working life, and a sub-editor for much of it. I have added to the natural caution of the Scot, what the unsympathetic might call "a nasty suspicious mind." So when it became obvious that a interpreter was essential to making contact with those Koreans who, in the long run, really matter, it never occurred to me to apply to the Unified Command or the Government of the Republic. On the contrary. When, in the correspondents' billets, a young Korean working for an international news agency expressed himself, with the greatest fluency and fervour, about the weaknesses of the Syngman Rhee administration, I at once approached him to see if he had a friend of similar views who would be prepared to help me. It seemed sound to use someone who would not be tempted, either

* Address delivered to the China Institute in London by the Author, who has just returned from a visit to the Far East.

through conviction or caution, to translate what he thought it desirable for me to hear.

Throughout Korea there are sixteen million people directly dependent on the land for their livelihood. Nearly all of them are members of peasant families, and the great majority work holdings that are more gardens than farms. The reason is very simple. Most of the land consists of steep and rocky hills of which only the lowest slopes can be converted into arable land by terracing. In the valleys, the soil is often rich and fertile, but it carries an inordinately dense population. Pressure on the available land is constantly increasing. Inevitably, the Korean peasant, like his counterparts throughout Asia, is land-hungry.

He is not a political animal. As far as the average Korean is concerned, the merits of any government can be very simply assessed. If he is barely aware that it exists; if he can feed and clothe his family; and if nobody interferes with him, the government is good. If, on the other hand, he hears a great deal about his government, finds it hard to maintain the meagre standards to which he has always been accustomed, and is pushed about, he concludes that there is something very far wrong with the system.

Before I tell you a little about some of the people I met and talked to, it might be wise to recall the general picture.

Forty years ago, nearly half of the arable land of Korea was being farmed by peasant proprietors. Under Japanese rule the proportion fell steadily. By 1945 threequarters of all cultivation was under the tenancy system. Not one peasant in six owned all the land he farmed. One third of the farming families extracted their livelihoods from an acre or less, and two-thirds held or rented less than two and a half acres. Apart from chickens and pigs, and an occasional draft animal, the farms, or more accurately, the gardens, just did not have enough space for livestock. They could not spare land for cultivated grass or fodder crops. Milk and meat were practically unknown, and but for plentiful supplies of fish, the Korean diet would have been woefully unbalanced.

Rentals took about fifty to sixty percent of major crops, and even the minority who retained their own land lived precariously. It needed only one bad harvest to force a family into borrowing; and with interests on farm loans running at about ten per cent per month, to fall into the hands of the money-lenders in one generation, meant loss of the land in the next, if not earlier. Life was not easy.

When Japan surrendered, there was a tremendous demand throughout Korea for measures to improve the lot of the peasants, and the authorities on both sides of the 38th parallel set about meeting that demand in their different fashions.

It was astonishing to find how much the people in little villages knew about what had been done and what was planned for their future. I rather expected that vagueness would prevail, since most of the country folk are illiterate. That was very far from the case. They knew, and on the whole, they understood. Those I talked to in the South before the threat of the return of the North Koreans and Chinese had grown large on the horizon, had one pre-occupation—"To what extent was the war going to delay the Republic's land reform?"

In most districts the public and individual farmers had been notified about new ownership, under the Act passed in June 1946. They took the programme very seriously, partly because they had had evidence of determination to improve their lot. An ordinance issued early on by the military government had fixed maximum farm rentals at one third of the annual production. They knew that landlords had been told that they must prepare to surrender their lands, against bonds which had already been printed when hostilities broke out, and would have been issued by the beginning of this year. Above all, they all knew, or had heard of the actual transfers which raised the number of owner-occupiers of land in South Korea by 126 per cent, between 1944 and the middle of 1948.

Credit for this last achievement belongs as much to the military administration as to the Republic of Korea. In February, 1946, the military government created an organization known as the New Korean Company to manage all property, including farmlands, formerly owned by Japanese individuals or companies. With more than fifteen per cent of all farmland in south Korea under its control, including much of the best land in the country, the New Korean Company began work with the set purpose of bringing about its own abolition as rapidly as possible. Plans were drawn up by the Company, in collaboration with Korean officials, and in March, 1948 the interim government of the Republic issued an ordinance converting the New Korean Company into the National Land Administration. Within two months, the National Land Administration had transferred by sale, deed, or mortgage 448,513 out of a total of 587,974 farm units earmarked for sale.

In the interim period, the New Korean Company had ploughed back a large proportion of its profits. Reclamation and irrigation projects started by the Japanese, and abandoned during the war, had been completed. Sea-wall and dykes had been repaired. The National Land Administration cannot continue to do such work for former tenants, but the Act does provide for the loan of money to co-operatives for land repair and rehabilitation.

Some of my informants felt that the Republic of Korea had been guilty of trailing its feet on the land reform issue. But I cannot remember one who had not been convinced that, sooner or later, all those who wanted to own their land, would be able to do so. Even my interpreter grudgingly conceded that the programme was sound, and that there were enough sympathisers in all parties, to ensure that it would be fulfilled.

The march of the Chinese made it impossible to investigate the lot of peasants in North Korea, on the spot, as thoroughly as I should have liked. In fact, the only area where it was possible to talk to farmers who had lived under North Korean rule for five years, and were still on their land, was in the vicinity of Hamhung. The rest of the picture had to be filled in by refugees, but the interesting and surprising thing was, that there were no real discrepancies between what was said by peasants on their little holdings in the flat lands between Hungnam and Hamhung, and the stories told by some of the thousands of refugees who found their way into Seoul, ahead of the withdrawal of the United Nations forces.

A good reporter tries to approach any investigation with a completely open mind. In this case, I must confess that while prepared to search for facts, and withhold judgment until they were forthcoming, I had half-expected to find that the more rapid disposal of lands in the North had brought about a wave of enthusiasm for the Communists. On the evidence, that was true for no more than a month or two, amongst those who were under Communist rule.

The North Korean Land Reform programme was based on an ordinance issued in March, 1946. Articles 2 and 3 of that ordinance laid down the categories of land to be confiscated and distributed to the farmers. Article 2 covered ; "(a) land owned by the Japanese government, Japanese nationals, and Japanese organizations ; and (b) land owned by traitors to the Korean farmers, those who collaborated with the Japanese to the detriment of the Korean masses, and those who fled from their native places at the time of Korean liberation from the Japanese oppression."

Article 3 reads ; "The following categories of land shall be confiscated and distributed free to the farmers for ownership ; (a) land in excess of five chungbo (roughly twelve acres) per farming family, in areas owned by Korean landlords ; (b) land owned by landlords who do not personally till, but wholly rent out ; (c) land rented out continuously, irrespective of area ; (d) land in excess of five chungbo owned by churches, monasteries, and other religious organizations."

The Korean peasants in the North got their new deal, and promptly. But from what they told me, there were too many jokers in the pack.

Joker Number One, proved to be the phrase "traitors to Korean farmers." In practice, that phrase came to mean that all land was placed absolutely at the disposal of the Communist party, not by any process of law, but by forcible seizure. The second joker was the provision that the land should be distributed to the farmers, for distribution was made through the agency of elected People's Committees at village, district and county levels. Since every candidate, in every election, was drawn from a list prepared by the party, the committees were in practice merely extensions of the party. Some non-party peasants did quite well. Some had good land. Some had bad. Some had ample. Far more had too little.

It was the third joker in the pack that started the process of disillusionment. The Land Reform Ordinance had convinced many of the peasants that a new era of equality and brotherhood was about to be ushered in. They discovered that they had not noted with sufficient care the first paragraph of the 4th article of the ordinance. That paragraph exempted from distribution, land "owned by those who have struggled with merit against the Japanese for the cause of Korean freedom and independence, and their families; and such land owned by those who have served with distinguished merit for the development of the Korean national culture, or their families, as shall be specified by the North Korean People's Committees."

On March 8, 1946, the Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry issued detailed instructions to the People's Committees. They speak pretty plainly for themselves. "The lands shall not be ceded, through the decision of the Interim People's Committee of North Korea, from those who fought against Japanese Imperialism, for Korean Independence; nor from their family; nor from those who have special merits for the progress of racial culture, nor from their families. This means those revolutionaries who fought for our emancipation and have been in prison for many years, and armed guerillas who fought for Korean independence, and those who have served in the National Social and Political worlds for the establishment of a democratic Korea, and scientists, writers, artists, and actors and actresses who have helped the progress of Korean culture, science and art."

The unlucky peasants who had received land too small, or too poor, to provide adequate sustenance for their families were embittered. In the past, they had at least been able to hire extra land. Now they found that impossible. There were no landlords prepared to rent out land, for the favoured nominees who had been given large tracts also had the services of "enemies of the people" to work it, and had no desire or need, to let.

But the real blow on all peasants did not fall until the first tax collection was due. In June of 1946, the National Interim People's Committee announced that from that time onward, farmers would be exempt from all taxes provided they handed over one fourth of their total harvest, and that no more than one fourth was to be collected compulsorily by the various people's committees. When application of the rules took place, the peasants found that they were required to hand over, not one fourth of what their land produced, but one fourth of a figure set by taxation officials.

How that worked out, is set down very briefly in a report prepared for the United Nations which I was privileged to read. It stated, "Preliminary inquiries tend to show that the very considerable benefits accruing to tenant farmers in North Korea from the distribution of confiscated lands, were more than offset by People's Committees exactions, and corruption by petty officials."

My own investigations lead me to believe that the United Nations report was an understatement of the situation.

In the second week of December, about three thousand refugees from the North reached Seoul, very much against the wishes of the Republic Government and the Unified Command. For several days, until camps for them could be prepared outside the city limits, they were packed into emergency receiving stations. They were tired, hungry, and angry. They could not understand why they were not allowed the freedom of the streets. They protested indignantly that as they had fled from the Communists, they ought to be welcomed as friends and allies, and not as potentially dangerous intruders.

For one milling group in the bare wind-swept grounds of the Bethany Presbyterian Church, the spokesman was Kim Dong Wook, from Pyong-an Province, not far from Pyongyang.

Kim was quite literally sore about his treatment in Seoul. He had left the compound without permission, and had been roughly handled by the police when he was found wandering without proper papers. With encouragement and promptings from his companions in distress, he told his story—a story confirmed and repeated with variations by scores of others. Like nearly all the others, he was an ordinary small peasant farmer, who had lived his entire thirty-four years in the same little village.

Up to 1945, Kim was reasonably content. Officials did not bother him unduly, and he and his relatives had enough to eat. From time to time, the crops yielded a surplus to be sold for clothing. His holding was small, 750 pyun, or about half an acre, but it was rich land. Half of it he owned, and the other half he rented.

Questions as to percentages induced a look of blank incomprehension, but when the query was put in simple terms of how much he had left in those days from his total crop, he displayed all ten fingers and then closed one hand.

Kim confirmed that he was delighted when he was told by the Communists that all the land he farmed would be his own property. He was even better pleased when announcements were made that taxes would be one out of every four bags of rice. An assessment which placed his crop at twice the highest he had ever reaped, shook his cheerfulness a little, but Kim shrugged his shoulders and went on hoeing and tending his 750 pyun. He reflected that, although he had no more land than before, and would have no more crops than before, he did hold ownership of all the land he worked.

After the tax had been paid, parties of officials descended on the village, and made long speeches to the villagers, who were summoned from their fields to listen. Most of what they said was a mystery to Kim. All that he really grasped from the first group of speakers, was that all the peasants in the country had volunteered to show their gratitude to Kim Il Sung by giving some of their crops to the "Build the Tanks Fund." The villagers had never seen a tank. They did not know what a tank looked like, though one of their number suggested that it was a new-fangled form of irrigation they could very well do without.

A few days later, the performance was repeated. This time, the "voluntary" contribution was to be for a Farmers' Union. What that was supposed to do, apart from collecting contributions, Kim had still not found out when he talked to me at the Bethany Church.

On the whole, Kim decided that if other peasants were so foolish, they could give anything they liked. He did not want a tank or a Farmers' Union, and would much prefer to keep his rice. Before he had time to proclaim his intentions, however, one of his neighbours did so. The next day men with guns arrived and took the outspoken neighbour away, charged with reactionary behaviour, and with being "an enemy of the people, and traitor to Korean farmers." Kim volunteered.

The pattern of life apparently varied little in the ensuing five years. Out of every ten fingersworth of crops, Kim retained no more than three, sometimes less. There was less to eat, and no new clothing. When the Communists retreated to the north, and ordered the peasants to do the same, leaving nothing behind them but the scorched earth, Kim and his fellow-villagers disobeyed. They were nervous about what might happen, because of the terrifying stories they had been told of the wholesale slaughter which would infallibly be carried out by the South

Korean authorities and "capitalist Imperialists." But they felt that life could not be so much worse as to make it worth while to flee.

Kim's little house was slightly damaged by a mortar bomb aimed at fleeing Communists, but otherwise he was not molested in anyway. With a sigh of relief, he settled down to his routine.

Repairs to his little house were almost completed when news reached his valley that the North Koreans and Chinese were coming back. That was more than even the patient Kim could bear. He put on all his clothes, piled food and a few possessions on a carrying frame, and walked south.

I asked the refugees how it came about that assessments of crops could possibly be so far out of relation to actual yield. Their replies were not very illuminating. They amounted, in fact, to a despairing gesture, and the Korean equivalent of "God knows!"

It was a south Korean farmer in a market adjoining the Seoul press billets, who gave me an account of methods of assessment.

Mr. Lee was patriarchal. I can't tell you the name of his village, because he was much too wily to tell me. He had good reason, for his village, somewhere not far from Seoul, had triumphantly swindled both Communist and Republican tax collectors.

The way of it was, that when the Communists crossed the parallel and poured through his village, they were still at the honeymoon stage. So, when Mr. Lee and the rest protested that they could not pay any taxes, having just recently delivered their dues to the Republic, the Communists agreed to wait until the next crop was lifted. They added a warning that anyone who failed to fulfil their quota, in due course, would show an insincere spirit. Anyone who did not hand over what was needed, for the good of the Korean people, would be self-convicted of sabotage—a crime punishable by confiscation of lands and death.

For the first few weeks the behaviour of the newcomers was impeccable. Later came a body of assessors. They did not maintain the custom of paying for what they wanted. They settled in and ate their way through the local poultry, with eggs as side-dishes. But it was their enthusiasm and conscientiousness in the execution of their duties which really alarmed Mr. Lee. Most of his land was devoted to rice, and two of the team (for they never worked singly) spent an entire day calculating how much rice would be required as tax at the end of the harvest.

As experts, the assessors took a pride in explaining their scientific approach. They went to considerable trouble to expound to farmer Lee that there could be no mistakes by their system, which had been endorsed by the great Stalin himself, and taught to the People's Government by their Soviet advisers. They would select a sample patch of his

land and make a full count of the prospective yield. By simple multiplication, they would then arrive at the precise yield to be expected from the farm.

"If they had let me choose the patch," the old man grunted, "that would have been a very good idea. There were parts where the paddy was very thin. But they had to choose the best pyun. (A pyun is about six feet by six). If they didn't count every ear, they certainly counted every stalk. I watched them crawling about for most of the morning. Next day they came and told me I must pay two tons of rice. That was great foolishness. I tried to tell them that in a good year we don't get much more than that, and that we'd have no rice left to eat or to sell. They wouldn't listen. That night their number one man came to my house and said that if I continued to question the accuracy of the assessment, I was an enemy of the people." The old man's few wiry white chin hairs bristled with remembered indignation, as he spluttered, "To say that to me—who have lived in the village all my life, and have no enemies."

As it happened, Mr. Lee never paid his two tons of rice. The crop was still being gathered when the Communists were driven north. By the time tax officials of the Republic found their way to the village, the crop had been carefully hidden, and the peasants repeated their plea that they should be excused payment because they had already paid once. It worked. That was why the old man wouldn't tell me where he lived. He enjoyed telling the story, but he was taking no chance of giving information which might reach the ears of the Government.

This experience of wildly inaccurate assessment seems to have been general, and, combined with the drive to build up disproportionate armed forces and maintain a relatively large industrial population in the north, to have made life harder than ever for the peasants.

But it would be unjust to the North Koreans to suggest that the drop in material standards alone, was responsible for the flood of refugees which poured into the south in December and January. Most of them were in any case so poor, that material loss cannot mean a great deal to them. From their own accounts, the chief reason for their flight was dislike of what can be colloquially described as "being pushed around."

As I said when I began, the peasant is no fool. He can realize and resent betrayal. Few, if any, had any idea of how democracy should work. Had they never been promised it, they would probably have endured what hardships befell them, as stolidly as they and their forefathers have always withstood difficulties and injustice. But though they did not understand the machinery of the promised democracy, they had all grasped the essential idea that they were to be masters of their own

destinies. Elections were completely foreign and unfamiliar, but all those who escaped to the unknown rather than be "liberated" again, were unanimous that the elections they had seen were a swindle.

Let me try to give you a composite account of an election as retailed to me by refugees, and by those who had been under Communist rule in the south long enough to experience one.

The first intimation of an impending election would be the arrival of officials, who would intimate to a selected number of residents that they had been appointed to select a candidate for the district. When the chosen representatives arrived at the place fixed for the meeting, they would listen to speech after speech on the glories of the People's Government and the great Soviet Union, on the need for unity and hard work, and on the determination of the people to root out and destroy any semblance of reactionary acts or thought.

As soon as the flow of oratory halted, the chairman would proclaim that the moment had come for nominations. Almost before the words were out of his mouth a member of the party seated in the body of the hall would leap to his feet and propose the name of the people's choice, emphasizing that such a candidate would be so warmly welcomed by Kim Il Sung, and Korea's mighty friend and ally, Soviet Russia, that it was the patriotic duty of all present to ensure his unanimous endorsement as official candidate. In reply, the chairman would praise the choice, and express his confidence that no member of the gathering would be such a base traitor to his countrymen as to suggest an alternative. And that, not unnaturally, would be the end of the nomination meeting.

Between that time, and the date of the election, the nominee would make one public appearance in each section of the district. Sometimes he read a prepared speech. When he was illiterate, he would recite the same short address at each meeting.

On polling day, members of the party, and the school children, were sent out to make sure that everybody voted.

In the entrance of the polling booth, invariably decorated with large photographs of Kim Il Sung and Stalin, an official checked each arrival against the electoral roll. The voter went on to an official known as the chairman of the election, and was handed a plain piece of card to be dropped into one or other of two ballot boxes, one white and one black, which stood at the back of the booth. In theory, the voter stretched out his hand, first over the white box, and then over the black. If he dropped the card into the white box, that was a vote for the candidate. If he put it in the black, he had voted against the candidate.

The electoral law said that there should be a screen between the chairman of the election and the ballot boxes. My informants agreed

that there usually was a screen ; but that as the law said nothing about its dimensions, it was usually well below the level of the top of the ballot boxes.

In most cases the candidates were returned with well over ninety per cent of the electorate voting in their favour.

Abuse of the word "voluntary" was another major factor in causing the rush of refugees, which was always southwards, never to the north.

Forced labour is nothing new to the Koreans. They have encountered it in one form or another all their lives, and there is no evidence that they entertained any particular resentment. They did resent most bitterly the same imposition when it was disguised as a "voluntary" contribution.

During the winter months in country districts, when the Korean counts on being able to spend his time on small repairs and similar activities, agents would arrive and call for volunteers, to spend periods which appeared to average about forty days, on tasks of national importance. It was invariably made plain that anyone who did not volunteer would have no-one but himself to blame if he came to be regarded as out of sympathy with, and indeed, hostile to the People's Government.

As those who reported for duty were technically volunteers, they were obliged to supply their own rice, and received neither pay nor expenses. They would be assigned to road-making, or mining minerals for export to Russia, with a fixed quota of work to be done. Out of a group of about twenty, eighteen men reported that they had found it impossible to reach the quota figure in the forty days they had "volunteered" to work. They had spent from forty-five to fifty days on the projects to which they were sent.

To sum up.

This is going to be a bitter year for the peasants of Korea. In the areas held by the United Nations they have to share their homes and their food with about four million refugees, by my guess. In the north they will fare still worse. Whatever the intentions of the Communist leaders, sheer absence of transport will force a high proportion of their armies to live off the land, and when that happens, it is always the peasant who suffers most.

REVIEWS

THE WONDERFUL SEA-HORSE and other Persian Tales

Translated by L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON. Illustrated by Neville Main.

Publishers : GEOFFREY BLES LTD., 52 Doughty Street, London W.C.1. Price 8s. 6d. net.

I often wished that the tales I heard from my Nanny and that my children heard from theirs, could be interpreted to English children and adults.

In this country stories are loved and there are many classics and current books for children, but none quite of the texture of Persian tales, indelibly stamped on the memories of old Nannies and recounted by them to the boys and girls.

Mr. L. D. Elwell-Sutton has given you just what I have often desired. He sat, as a good boy, listened to a good storyteller, and caught and retained word for word the narrations. He understands Persian well—and now has put them into English.

As I read them I felt, in my sixties, the same delight I had felt in my early childhood. Perhaps even more, for this sweet English tongue as written by Elwell-Sutton produces the nuances of Persian expressions and makes the reading delightful.

Persian tales for children are not printed and published in their original. This is a pity. The reason I believe is that education is taken very solemnly from childhood onwards, and, alas, stories are not regarded as part of education but as a pastime for the very young, told them by their illiterate Nannies and nurses, and never by their mothers.

Nevertheless this traditional unwritten literature gives a mixture of legends, fairy stories, fables and heroic tales attractive to the child's ear and diverting to the mind of anyone who reads them. There is always a touch of religion in these tales.

Thank you, Mr. L. P. Elwell-Sutton ! Among all the interesting volumes you have written concerning Persia, this translation will remain a classic. A classic in English literature, for it introduces the Persian wit, jokes and folk idiom in proper style, with a simplicity for children and without ambiguity for adults. In a way it is a classic of Persian literature because when, as I expect, this book is retranslated into Persian, it will be the first and the best specimen ever to appear in a modern Persian library.

The few illustrations by Mr. Neville Main illuminate the book and the artist takes us with him to the Eastern Wonderlands.

S. M. RAZAVY.

PETER THE GREAT AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

By B. H. SUMNER, FBA, Warden of All Souls College, Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 6s. net.

This slim little volume is full of the lively learning which his admirers have come to expect from one of the most distinguished students of Russian history.

Professor Sumner is among the growing number of historians who believe that a reassessment of Ottoman history is necessary to a proper understanding of the complex processes of East European history. "The political weaknesses of the Ottoman empire appear all too evident, especially in the eyes of Western historians, but the study of the Ottoman administration from Turkish sources has as yet hardly begun. In the coming years much will probably be altered in the indiscriminate picture painted of the decadence of the Ottoman empire at the beginning of the eighteenth century."

Although the Treaty of Karlowitz confirmed the defeat of the Ottoman armies by a European coalition in which Peter had been a partner, and Turkish power was giving ground on the Danube, Professor Sumner points out that it was on the increase in the Caucasus after the Georgian campaigns of 1703-4. On the whole Peter's policy directed against the Ottoman empire was not marked by success ; and in 1711 the victor of Poltava had to submit to humiliating capitulation when he was surrounded by an Ottoman Army on the Pruth. "He forced the Turks to agree to the cession of Azov by the treaty of 1700. Despite immense cost in human labour and expenditure, he pushed on with the building of his fleet and the creation of a new port at Taganrog. All this was lost and wasted when in 1711 as a result of the disaster on the Pruth he had to retrocede the acquisitions of 1700. They were partially regained in 1739, but not fully until 1774." Professor Sumner finds some compensation for Peter in the fact of "his success in barring to the Turks expansion to the Caspian," But equally Turkish intervention in the Caucasus at the time of the crisis of the Safavids (in the 1720's) checked for three generations the establishment of Russian power to the south of the

main ridge of the Caucasus. It is always easy to read history backwards but certainly the obstinate resistance of the "decrepit" Ottoman empire to the southward advance of Muscovite power during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had the effect of putting back the timetable of Russian expansion by at least a century with incalculable effects on our own period in history.

Professor Sumner's essay can be reread with pleasure three or four times. His numerous footnotes are of the greatest interest and his incidental survey of recent Soviet books and articles on his subject is very valuable. While regretting his own inability to read Turkish, Professor Sumner draws attention to the important contributions of modern Turkish scholars to his subject (Professors Kurat and Inalcik). In a section on the Volga Moslems he refers to lack of information and emphasizes that "Turkish sources must be tapped." From Russian evidence in print he has drawn the conclusion that the connexions of the Volga-Ural Moslems and the Crimean Tatars with Constantinople must have been slight and of secondary importance. In fact Turkish historians, including Evliya Celebi (in chapters not translated by von Hammer) throw considerable light on the relations of the Ottoman Sultans with the Bashkirs and Mangit-Nogays on the Volga and, also, with the Özbek khanates in Turkistan. These have been well summarised in Professor Zeki Velide Togan's *History of Turkistan* (an English translation of which is in preparation).

W. E. D. ALLEN.

DEAREST PRISCILLA By EMILY BRADLEY. (*Max Parrish*). 12s. 6d. net

THIS CHARMING, wise and witty "directive" to English brides bound for "The Tropics" is as unique, and should be as indispensable as Mrs. Beeton's *Household Management* once was to brides who stayed at home. Written, as its sub-title explains, in the form of "Letters to the Wife of a Colonial Civil Servant," by one who was one of them, it is a *vade mecum* which those of us who learned the hard way can only regret was not available in our day. For, though intended for "government" wives much of its contents—"Your Colonial House," "What you will Wear," "Servants in Theory," "Servants in Practice," "Living on your Pay," "Race Relationships" etc.—is equally valuable to all. Mrs. Bradley spent most of her colonial life in Africa, which, as the inviting jacket design makes plain, supplies her case-book. Yet in principle, and with only minor modifications, her letters apply equally to the West Indies or Malaya. One such modification should be made in regard to native "nannies." The hair-raising potentialities of a bad Ayah are as true of Asia as of Africa, but the standards in Asia are a good deal higher and a good "Ayah" or a good "Amah" is as priceless and perhaps no rarer than a good English nanny. In its broadest aspect *Dearest Priscilla* is an inspiring exposition of *noblesse oblige* in a modern setting. The Mrs. Bradleys of the (?British) Commonwealth are the product of generations living by this principle, and one of their company was surely the Admiral's wife, Mrs. Croft, in *Persuasion*. An ideal bedside book.

THE WORLD IS A BRIDGE By CHRISTINE WESTON. (*Collins*). 9s. 6d. net.

THE AUTHOR was born in India and grew up amongst Indians. She therefore writes from "inside the skin." Her earlier novel *Indigo* was full of aroma and promise which this new book fulfils. *The World is a Bridge* reveals a great advance in the sheer technique of writing and is correspondingly more ambitious in scope. *Indigo* was mainly about a group of English characters in India, interwoven with a group of Indians playing a slightly subordinate role. Its successor claims Western readers for a group of exclusively Indian characters. The time is 1947 when the author was herself re-visiting India and the story is woven round the reactions of Indians of different race and station to the imminent transfer of power. It is a theme which will always be absorbing to those who have lived and served in India and those who had left before Independence may in Miss Weston's pages themselves re-visit familiar ground in the brief hour of a tremendous transition. As a "documentary" novel and the first to be published in England on that particular phase it represents an important attempt to interpret the new India to the western world. To us here it has the ring of truth but it would add greatly to the interest of a later edition if Indian critics were quoted on the wrapper. If an excessive taste for the exotic, which weakened *Indigo*, is still evident, it has been severely pruned in *The World is a Bridge* which, in being a vivid and gripping story, fulfils the main requirement of a good novel about anything.

BARBARA WHITTINGHAM-JONES

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(INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA)

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THREE AND A HALF YEARS AFTER

By SIR PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS

A JOINT MEETING of the East India Association and the Over-Seas League was held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, on Tuesday, March 20, 1951, with Sir JOHN WOODHEAD in the Chair. Sir PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS gave an address entitled "Three and a half years after." He said : Most of those who address this Association are distinguished specialists in some particular line who come here to give you some specific piece of information or to stimulate you to some original line of thought. My functions are humbler. My job is to try to piece together the known and well ascertained facts about India and Pakistan so as to make a coherent picture. I have never felt that analysis to be more difficult than I do this year, and that for two reasons. In the first place, the picture itself is so very mixed ; there is so much that is good and encouraging and so much that is bad and discouraging. In the second place, very much that I have to say is concerned with currents and trends of thought and feeling in dealing with which one cannot help being influenced by one's own particular attitude to life and to affairs.

On former occasions when speaking here about India and Pakistan I have tried to see them in isolation. I have ignored the outside world. But in the last six months' events in South-east Asia have moved so fast, developments have been so striking, and in some respects so sinister, that it is impossible to talk to-day without seeing India and Pakistan against the background of South-east Asia as a whole.

THE BLACK LINE

I think the best way to picture South-east Asia is to draw a black line across those countries on the map which are either under Communist control or in such a condition that it seems fairly clear that before very long they will be either under Communist control or in a state of chaos. The line starts in China and proceeds west to Indo-China, where the position is more serious than the Press would lead us to think. Then it goes to Indonesia, where there are far too many signs of strains and stresses. The line goes on to Malaya, where 30,000 troops and 100,000 police are still coping, not altogether successfully, with determined and intelligent terrorists. Then the line goes on to Burma. There is no country in the world with regard to which one should treat official statements with more reserve than Burma. The actual facts are that one-third of the people of Burma now live outside the control of the Government ; rather more than one-third of the police-stations are not in official

hands ; the railways still cannot run except in certain limited stretches, and industry is still dislocated. The Burmah Oil Company cannot mend its pipe-line. In fact, there are all the possible signs of anarchy and chaos. In my judgment it is too much to expect that Burma should for many years survive as an independent country.

Then the black line shoots up north to Tibet, a country which is rapidly falling into the hands of potential enemies. The line next turns west and goes through Nepal. In my judgment what was once a strong, stable government may soon cease to be so. The black line goes on to Sinkiang from which Russia is organizing a full-scale Communist propaganda drive against Pakistan. The Communists are spending money in a big way in Sinkiang and they are providing all the amenities of life to show the local people that it is better to live under Communist rule than just over the border in Pakistan. My line must next go to Afghanistan, where plenty of trouble is boiling up. The spirit of hostility between Afghanistan and Pakistan is growing, and many unpleasant people are beginning to fish in troubled waters.

A CONTRASTING PICTURE

On the northern side of this black line all is chaos and disaster. On the inside of that line there is a contrasting picture of tranquility and order. I think there is no contrast anywhere in the world to-day more marked than that between the conditions which prevail inside that line, in India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and outside it. I find the existence of that black line both frightening and encouraging. It is encouraging when you think that back in 1947 there was no inherent reason for taking it for granted that by 1951 conditions in India and Pakistan would be so much better than outside that black line. At that time the troubles in the Punjab were at their height and few people would have prophesied that within four years India and Ceylon would be enjoying a period of peace and tranquility. One is always conscious of the frustrations in India and Pakistan but not always so conscious of the things that are good, and I therefore emphasise this difference between what happens outside the black line and inside it.

THREE TESTS

Let me put it in concrete terms. There are three tests I apply when I talk about law and order. The first is, can I travel from place A to place B in safety? In India and Pakistan the answer to-day is "Yes." It is so much "Yes" that we take it for granted but it would not be

“ Yes ” in Burma or in large parts of Indo-China, Malaya or Indonesia. The second is, can one send money for the purpose of one's business from place to place and expect it to be received at the other end ? Here the answer is “ Yes.” The third question is, can one sleep securely in one's own house at night ? Again; except for one or two times when there have been exceptional communal troubles, the answer regarding India and Pakistan is “ Yes.” Law and order are being maintained in a most extraordinary manner, making the contrast between what is inside the black line and what is outside it more vivid.

MR. NEHRU'S ACHIEVEMENT

It is against the background of the black line that I want to paint for you some of the main aspects of India and Pakistan to-day. I will do this under certain major headings. The first heading is the relations between India and Pakistan themselves. In the spring of last year I had the privilege of speaking to your Association, but my subject was Burma. If I had been talking of India and Pakistan I should have spoken then of the great fear that was in my mind and in the minds of all visitors to those countries. The tension was tremendous. The war fever was something which could not be understood unless one had been present to see its manifestations. The Calcutta Press, with a few honourable exceptions, behaved irresponsibly and lent its influence entirely to the agitation against Pakistan, and in Pakistan certain sections of the Press seemed equally anxious to make a conflict inevitable. That conflict did not take place. That it did not take place so far as India was concerned was almost entirely due to Pandit Nehru. On two occasions in the last four years he has saved India. The first time was in 1947 when it was due to his great moral courage that the Punjab troubles did not spread to the United Provinces and the west of India. The second was in the spring of last year when he used his authority to break down the demand for military action and to instil the spirit of moderation. Thanks to his success, tempers began to cool and people had time to think again. Tempers have now cooled down; but this merely means that the flaming passion which was there twelve months ago has been replaced by a certain sourness and bitterness which does not bode any permanent good. Nevertheless it is something that the flaming passion has gone.

THE KASHMIR IMPASSE

What were the causes that produced the tension in the spring of last year ? The first was the Kashmir issue, and the second the economic controversy. The Kashmir issue, is as far from settlement as ever it was ;

in fact it is a great deal further from settlement than it was two years ago. People who two years ago were talking of settlement are to-day taking it for granted that there is nothing more to be done. India is apt to take it for granted that the question is already settled, but although Kashmir may appear settled from the Indian point of view, that is not the manner in which it is looked at in Pakistan.

Whenever I have spoken to this Association in the past I have steadily refused to be drawn into discussion on the merits of the Kashmir controversy. But we are concerned to see that some kind of settlement takes place, and the Indian tendency to assume that everything has been settled is dangerous. In Pakistan Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has troubles with his own followers, some of whom are less wise and moderate than himself. Indeed, one of the sticks that is used to beat him with is his moderation over the Kashmir matter. But until recently he has been able to tell them that they must be patient in the matter because it was going to be settled by United Nations, or, after that, by the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Now he has to say that nothing has been done to effect a settlement, and that is bound to add fuel to the fire.

In my judgment there is no real hope for the future unless India and Pakistan together are determined to settle this issue, and I beg India not to make the mistake of thinking that the issue is settled already and that they can just do nothing but hope that everything will turn out for the best. Unless there is a resolute determination in both countries to find a settlement trouble is coming.

THE PAKISTAN RUPEE

The second factor is the economic controversy, first about jute, and secondly, on Pakistan's non-devaluation. In this field a great step forward has been taken in the acknowledgment of the value of the Pakistan rupee at 2s. 2d., and in the corrected trade agreement. When Pakistan decided not to devalue in 1949 opinions were divided as to the wisdom of this action. In the first six months of 1950 Pakistan had a great deal of luck. Various nations entered the market for her commodities and she was able to sell her cotton and jute better than was expected. But by the middle of 1950 these adventitious circumstances were beginning to wear down a little. Then came the meeting of the International Monetary Fund which was supposed to settle the matter. The decision was postponed and within two or three weeks of that date the whole economic background of the world had changed. The international situation had given rise to a tremendous demand for raw material;

Pakistan was able to dispose of her cotton very profitably and to sell her jute abroad much better than she had expected. Therefore she found herself on a strong economic wicket. No objective economist could have advised Pakistan to devalue in the conditions then and now prevailing. India has recognized that fact. It took some courage on her part to accept the Pakistan rupee, for in the meanwhile this had tended to become an emotional matter. It took a great deal of moral courage on the part of India to go to Pakistan and say, "Frankly, we were wrong, we recognise that and we have now come to have a deal with you. We will recognise your rupee." I think great credit is due to India for having the courage to do that and also to Pakistan for the restrained spirit with which she met the Indian approach.

THE BLACK MARKET

Trade at last can begin to flow again. That, perhaps, is not quite an accurate way of putting it. There has been quite a bit of trade through the medium of black market rupees. Of all the many black markets in India and Pakistan I suppose the most important in 1950 was that in Indian and Pakistan rupees; under its cover quite a good deal of trade did take place between certain parts of India and certain parts of Pakistan. But you cannot carry on indefinitely with such subterfuges and the recognition of the exchange ratio has now made it possible for trade to open up in its normal channels. There are people who think that, having got trade to flow again, vested interests will be on the side of peace and that there will now be a large body of people interested in seeing that other matters are settled peacefully. I am not prepared to endorse or reject this expectation. When emotion and economic interests conflict it takes a very brave man to say what will be the probable outcome. The position is that of the two factors that produced tension in the spring of last year one has been removed and the other still remains.

INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Passing on from the relations of India and Pakistan to each other I come to my second major fear—their relations with the outside world. I can summarise India's attitude best by saying that she is moving still closer to Britain. There is probably a greater measure of common understanding between the British and Indian Governments than ever before. But India, unfortunately, seems to be moving further away from the United States. She does not understand the reality of American fears with regard to Russia and tends to think that the precautionary

and defensive measures which America is taking do in reality indicate something more aggressive. There is a strong body of opinion among educated Indian people to the effect that America is spoiling for trouble. I think they are wrong, but the fact needs to be put on record. We and America have to stand together and somehow or other we have to persuade India that she must be in with us too. The foreign policy of India is governed by Pandit Nehru. Many people thought his approach to Stalin was a mistake, but as months went by and Korea went badly people began to say that Nehru understood these things better than most people in the world ; so there has been in the last six months a great strengthening of Pandit Nehru's influence in the whole field of foreign politics. He is not prepared to join with either *bloc*. It is not easy to analyse the reasons for his neutrality, but it is a fact we have to accept.

THE CHANGES IN NEPAL

I must here say a few words about Nepal which has been ruled for some generations not by its kings but by hereditary Prime Ministers and their kinsmen who collectively are described as the Ranas. About two years ago disaffection began to appear. It was aimed ostensibly at restoring the King to his ancient authority. Towards the latter part of last year it received encouragement from the Government of India. The official view in Delhi is something like this : Communism is getting hold of Tibet and Tibet is next door to Nepal. The people of Nepal are " groaning under an age-long tyranny " and they will obviously pin their hopes to the Communists for deliverance from the yoke. Therefore, Mr. Nehru and his colleagues said, we must force Nepal to be more democratic, and reforms were accordingly forced on the Government of Nepal. Much as I respect the motives behind India's attitude I think it was a mistake. India should have been content for some years to have a strong conservative state to the north to protect her from the Communist forces not very far away. As I see it, two practical results have emerged from the action taken. The first is that subversive elements have been led to believe that they can expect help from outside and can win, and the second is that authority in Nepal has had its prestige considerably humiliated. I am unhappy about what has happened in Nepal.

TIBET

The position in Tibet is rather different, because in Tibet there was no question of intervention by India. What is beginning to happen there

is in one sense not sinister. China had for a long time claimed a vague suzerainty over Tibet and many expected that when Britain retired from India that suzerainty might be made more effective. The mere fact that the Chinese are in Tibet would not thus by itself be annoying. What is perhaps sinister is that their coming happened to coincide with a very bellicose and imperious mood of their own. Does the presence of the Chinese in Tibet—I do not mean now, but on a long view, when they have had time to consolidate—substantially increase the danger to India or not? There are people who say that fact is a long way away, that the mountains are high, that the roads are bad, and that there cannot be any serious danger. I get concerned when I hear people talking like that, it reminds me too much of Malaya and Burma. The roads may be bad but if they are good enough for muleteers bringing down wool they are good enough to bring Sten guns and Bren guns. The presence of China in Tibet must on a long view be a supplementary danger to India in time of trouble.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY

I pass on to another theme, that of law and order. I have already said that in India as a whole law and order has been remarkably well maintained. But you cannot talk about law and order without having in mind the position with regard to Communism and its short-time manifestations and here too I saw a great improvement. Calcutta two years ago seemed almost in the grip of dangerous Communist elements—one does not have that sense of danger there now. In Hyderabad the situation has improved out of all recognition. The methods adopted were stern and have produced the intended effect. There are, of course, still important pockets of Communism not yet cleared up. As certain areas were cleared the more desperate Communists took refuge in more inaccessible areas. They have gone to the hills and the forests and from there sally forth to make raids on adjacent villages or attack police stations, the object, of course, being to secure arms. Because their activities are spectacular they tend to get more prominence in the newspapers than they deserve. I do not regard them as constituting any great cause for long-term anxiety. So far as the short-term position is concerned, India is far stronger in checking Communism than it was two years ago.

In Pakistan there are some signs of Communist activity. In this respect things there are not as good as they were two years ago. Communist propaganda is fairly active among university students, and some of the students' organizations have lent themselves to it.

FAMINE CONDITIONS

My last major heading is economics. It would be silly to pretend to be altogether happy about the economic condition of India to-day. The food situation is not as bad as it was in 1943, but it is bad enough in all conscience; though the degree of seriousness varies from State to State. Madras is in a bad way. I visited four or five tea estates in the first half of the week, and in none of them were there any stocks of rice for sale to coolies on the following Friday. Managers have to hope that it will arrive in time. Another Province—or rather one should say State—is Assam, where there is shortage in the midst of plenty. There is plenty of rice but it is largely controlled by rapacious hoarders. You can buy as much as you like in the black market at a price of Rs. 35/- or Rs. 40/- against a controlled price of 17 rupees 8 annas. The rice is in the hands of some of the most rapacious business people in the world, people who are completely indifferent to the starvation of others as long as they can put money in their pockets. That applies also to jute. This is one of the biggest single problems India has to face—how to deal with the ruthless profiteer, at present a widespread evil. All this is building up in the minds of middle-class Indians a hatred of capitalism.

The Indian Government adopted a very unwise policy in attempting self-sufficiency in food two years ago. I remember talking about that in this room at that time and I was rash enough to say that the policy was unreal, impracticable and dangerous. That has proved to be true. The plain fact is that according to the finding of a recent committee, no more food is being grown in India to-day than two years ago. There can be no question of India becoming self-sufficient in food, at any rate until the great river valley projects get going, and that will require a long time, perhaps fifteen years. India lost valuable opportunities last year of importing grain. She is now trying to make up for it and she is doing it at a time when shipping is needed. America may be willing to give wheat but it is another matter to get the wheat there. India's present food shortage means that a large proportion of her foreign exchange will have to be applied to buying food, and that will not leave her enough to buy the capital goods she needs for development and at the same time to purchase consumer goods with reasonable liberality. As a result consumer goods will be cut down to the limit.

Another aspect of the economic situation is the shyness of Indian capital. It is true that it is a bit easier to raise debentures than it was twelve months ago, but this applies only to the old-established concerns. There is no sign of the widespread development of new industries, which is what India needs most to get back on a sound basis. Pakistan economy

is in a quite different condition because Pakistan is mainly a producer of raw materials. She can sell them at almost any price she likes to ask for them. So long as the present near-war situation continues, Pakistan has not any real ground for worry.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR

The Government of India is approaching economic problems in a rather more practical spirit than when it first came to power. The approach is not yet wholly practical, but it is much more so than it was. There are two directions in which a greater realism is still required. The first is in the field of labour. India's labour policy is still hopelessly unreal and gives no regard to costs of production. If you are an employer and want to retrench 500 or 600 men because you do not need them, you may be told by a tribunal that you must go on paying them. No business man is likely to do much in a country if the arrangement of his business is left to be settled by some outside tribunal with no knowledge of the basic factors concerned. The labour policy of the Government of India is the greatest single deterrent to development, and other departments realise this, but they cannot make their pressure felt because the elections are just round the corner.

The last Indian Budget resulted in an all-round increase of 10 per cent in taxation from April 10 this year. We in this country may feel envious of another whose taxation has risen only by 10 per cent, but in the condition of India this increase will still further depress enterprise. Another noticeable feature of the Indian budgets is the harsher treatment of non-resident shareholders and pensioners, and at the same time the withdrawal of the exemption from Indian income tax on pensions paid to people outside India. If India wants to attract foreign capital and desires all the help she is now supposed to want, she will have to be a little more generous in her treatment of the non-resident shareholder and pensioner.

My picture of India and Pakistan, as I said at the beginning, is a very mixed one. There are bright and dark features in it for there are no bright pictures in the modern world. The whole world is in an extremely unpleasant condition, and in my judgment is more likely to get worse than better. When my business friends ask if India and Pakistan are good "bets," my reply is that there are no good bets in the world to-day, but that India and Pakistan are at least as good bets as you will find anywhere else.

NEPAL AND TIBET

The CHAIRMAN said that he always envied Sir Percival Griffiths his flow of speech; his power of addressing an audience; and his marshalling of facts. They had always known Sir Percival Griffiths by his initials "P.J." and when a man was known by his initials it indicated that he was a pukka V.I.P.

Mr. H. E. RICHARDSON, who was invited to speak, said that he could only echo what Sir Percival Griffiths had said about the Chinese in Tibet. They were trying to establish control over Tibet at least by peaceful means.

Mr. R. PATNAIK said that he thought India was right in demanding that a democratic Government should be established in Nepal. Nepal had been left under a regime of slavery, and therefore it was very important to democratise the people. Labour conditions were far from satisfactory in India. He felt that the tribunals to which Sir Percival had referred were very necessary, otherwise there would be big differences of reward in different employments.

Dr. BATRA thanked the lecturer for his able marshalling of the facts. He did not agree with him when he said that India did not want a settlement of the Kashmir problem. Why was United Nations so slow in naming the aggressor in this matter? Speaking of taxation, Sir Percival had seemed to indicate that he wanted some discrimination in favour of the non-Indian capitalist. In his view there should be no such discrimination, it would be potentially dangerous. The main thing that he wanted to say was, "If you want to stop Communism in India, send India 90,000 tractors every year, so that more food can be grown. If you do not do that you will lose India."

IS ISOLATION WISE?

Mr. CHINNA DURAI said he did not quite agree with Sir Percival when he said in his closing words that India and Pakistan were as good a "bet" as any other countries in the world. His own concern was with India and with the other side of that black line which the lecturer had drawn and which spelt danger from all quarters. After all, it was questionable whether the policy of isolation was a correct one. There was famine in India to-day, and she wanted food more than anything else. The one country that could give her food to-day was America. He appreciated India's feeling for China, which was a neighbour and an Eastern country; blood was thicker than water. But for all that, what

had China done for India that India should stick to her through thick and thin? When China walked into Tibet India protested but what was the result of that protest? India was told that she was one of America's satellites. He would have liked to have seen India accept the offer of United Nations to serve on the Good Offices Committee, but she threw it away. Now Sir B. Rau said that there was a stalemate in Korea and it would be well for India to accept the Good Offices work. For his own part he did not think there was a stalemate. He believed that the Chinese were going to be beaten. India, in this respect, as with many other different problems, had accepted a policy of isolation which meant nothing but danger to herself. He wished to see a rather more realistic policy in India than the one so far followed. Mr. Nehru was all for peace—a very laudable idea indeed—but it was peace which, while appearing very well in theory, could not really hold water. He hoped that India would soon see the folly of what she was doing in this respect.

A MEMBER remarked that Sir Percival had not touched upon the reaction in India or Pakistan to the Colombo plan. This was a most important matter, and one wondered whether the time had not arrived when public opinion—that is to say, world opinion—should not start saying to those countries which together invested from 55 to 60 per cent of their national income in preparations for war or defence against war whether they ought not to reconsider such expenditure. After all, Russia only spent 21 per cent of her income in such preparations and defence, America only 14 per cent, and Great Britain expected to spend 15 per cent in 1953. Why was it that these two Eastern countries spent as much as 55 per cent of their national income in defence and were still asking for large sums of money from this country and other parts of the world under the Colombo plan?

SIR PERCIVAL'S REPLY

Sir PERCIVAL GRIFFITHS, in reply, said that there had been some extremely interesting questions raised in this brief discussion. Some of them were of a searching character. Mr. Patnaik had told them how Nepal lived under a regime of slavery against which the Nepalese were bound to turn with loathing, and how important it was to democratise them. He thought that Mr. Patnaik's picture was rather overdramatic. He doubted whether most of the people in Nepal did live under a constant sense of a slave regime. In Nepal it seemed odd to suggest that they were in a condition of slavery and therefore to-morrow they must have a democratic constitution. He would have thought that modern democracy needed a certain length of time during which a people were fitted for it.

He could think of nothing more unwise than to take a people who were said to be in slavery to-day and turn them into M.P.'s to-morrow morning. Anarchy would supervene before long.

Mr. Patnaik had also turned to labour matters and had said that labour conditions in tea gardens were far from satisfactory. That was only a half truth—the general standard of living in India was low and labour was at the lowest. He would like Mr. Patnaik to accompany him around any of the gardens of the biggest tea companies in Assam and he would guarantee to convince him that the conditions of the labourers in those tea gardens were far better than the conditions of the people living in the villages outside. On the whole, Indian labour was incredibly inefficient. The Indian labourer worked neither hard nor efficiently and he stayed away when he liked. On the average the labourers worked four days in the Assam tea gardens, and they pleased themselves whether they worked four hours or six hours a day. Before the war this inefficiency did not matter so much because it was cheap. To-day it was dear and still inefficient. He would go so far as to say that judged by units of work in some industries the Indian labourer was probably the most highly-paid labourer in the world. The National Planning Committee, which could not be accused of any anti-labour bias, had just come to the conclusion that the Government of India was very unwise to embark on its present minimum wage policy.

Mr. Patnaik had said that they were bound to have tribunals because otherwise there would be appalling disputes. But it was the experience of employers all over India that these tribunals had done more to create unrest and undermine discipline than almost anything else. They had gone so far to-day that apparently no employee felt he could ever be sacked. Mr. Patnaik had spoken hopefully about the 10 per cent increase in taxation. He was not disputing the proposition that a budget had to be balanced, but if one took taxation above a certain level, whether in India or in this country, one would get no more industrial development.

Dr. Batra had said some very thought-provoking things. He had taken him up for suggesting that India did not want a settlement of the Kashmir problem and had asked why United Nations should be so slow in naming the aggressor. His own view was that the countries concerned, India and Pakistan, had to make up their minds whether they wanted to settle this business themselves or wanted some outside authority to do it for them. If the latter, they could not be selective. They could not pick out a little bit of the field. India and Pakistan must be willing to get together and make their own settlement or be willing to accept arbitration. Dr. Batra appeared to have gained the impression from his (Sir Percival's) remarks that he wanted some kind of taxation discrimination

in favour of the non-Indian capitalist. Nothing could have been further from his mind. But he held that non-residents should not have been treated as harshly as they were treated under the new taxation scheme. If India needed foreign capital she must go out of her way to make it worth while for the foreign capitalist.

Dr. Batra had said that what India needed was 90,000 tractors every year. He could not agree more. That was where the Colombo plan was so important. The essence of the Colombo plan was to enable India to get started on certain kinds of development she could not do for herself. Nevertheless, 90,000 tractors a year was a large order.

Mr. Chinna Durai had made some extremely thoughtful observations and put up a powerful plea for realism on the part of India. He had listened with the utmost sympathy and admiration to what he had said, but it would be an impertinence for a non-Indian to say the same things. This country would be very glad to see India's policy becoming gradually more definite, but they were quite willing to wait patiently and set to work in friendship, hoping that in course of time India would join the Western democratic *bloc*.

THE COLOMBO PLAN

The last question raised was with regard to the Colombo plan. The first part concerned the reactions in India. Those reactions were rather mixed. At first the plan was greeted with great satisfaction and hope for the future, and then people began to doubt whether much would come out of it for it depended fully on India's ability to raise for herself a considerable amount of capital. The next point concerned investments for defence. It was asked how could countries spend some 50 or 60 per cent of their revenues on defence and expect to get help from the outside world. If they had to spend 50 or 60 per cent on defence they could not do anything for development because, even if they had the money, they would not have the physical resources. That was why he had said that the whole future of India and Pakistan seemed to depend on a settlement of Kashmir, after which there could be a radical reduction in the expenditure on defence.

His only other point concerned the kind remarks of the Chairman (Sir John Woodhead) about himself. It had been his privilege to serve under Sir John when he was many years his senior. Sir John had referred to the fact that he (Sir Percival) was known by his initials. He wondered if Sir John knew what his own junior officers used to call him. Actually, he was known by the very appropriate nickname of "Honest John."

Sir HENRY CRAIK expressed the thanks of the meeting to the speaker and the Chairman. He said that many of them had heard Sir Percival Griffiths deliver such talks before, and every time he spoke he (Sir Henry) was astonished at the ease and the grasp with which he gave them a picture of India, and his consummate mastery of facts and figures. He never even displaced a word or a comma. It was a great privilege to all of them to hear him and he only wished that more people outside their Association could have a chance of reading these talks. As for Sir John Woodhead, he had been for many years one of the leading spirits in the East India Association.

UNITED KINGDOM TRADE RELATIONS WITH INDIA AND PAKISTAN

By MAURICE J. WATT

(OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND EAST-ASIA DEPARTMENT OF THE FBI)

AT MEETINGS of this Association I have been privileged to listen to speakers whose knowledge of the Indian sub-continent has been based on a long experience therein. I cannot claim such qualifications, but for some years I have been much concerned with questions of trade with the sub-continent and in the winter of 1949/50, I made an extensive tour of India and two tours of Pakistan, one on behalf of my Federation and the second with the United Kingdom Industrial Mission to the latter country.

It is unfortunate that in the world today, industrialists who are forced, when considering any market, to have regard not only to purely economic factors, but also to what in many countries in days gone by, could be looked upon as extraneous, that is to say the political situations therein. No survey of trade relations with India and Pakistan to-day can ignore political considerations, more especially when these countries are potential areas in which industrial development with British capital might take place.

There is one political problem which affects both countries equally, namely the Kashmir dispute. Its continuance must result in retarding the development of both countries, not only because of its effect on their internal conditions, but because it is bound to be a deterrent to overseas industrialists who might otherwise be very glad to assist in the promotion of industrial enterprises in conjunction with citizens of the sub-continent.

Not infrequently I am consulted by British manufacturers who are contemplating entering into arrangements with business people therein, for the establishment of new industries, and I find almost invariably the question of Kashmir is raised. It is obvious, therefore, that a settlement of this dispute which has bedevilled the relations of India and Pakistan for so long, even if it means, as it must, some concessions on both sides, is of the utmost importance.

THE INDIAN BUDGET

In the Budget for 1951-52 the Indian Finance Minister has found it necessary to impose fresh taxation which includes a surcharge of five per cent on income tax and super tax, and an increase of corporation tax from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ annas. This fresh taxation will convert a prospective deficit into a revenue surplus of rupees 26 crores, but there is an estimated deficit on capital account of Rs. 78 crores. This will leave uncovered Rs. 52 crores capital expenditure which is to be met from the Government's cash reserves, thus reducing them to the low figure of Rs. 43 crores. As the *Eastern Economist* stated in a recent article "The Government of India has in three brief years run through its patrimony of cash of Rs. 270 crores at Partition, and must now impose additional taxation of rupees 31.15 crores, to conserve its closing balances "

A number of State Budgets show an equally unfavourable situation : West Bengal, Madras, Bihar, Punjab, Assam, Orissa, Kerala (Travancore-Cochin) and Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) all have deficits. Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Saurashtra show nominal surpluses.

The financial picture in India is not therefore a happy one and the Government's development plans are clearly threatened, for the practice of drawing on cash reserves to finance development is only a temporary, and clearly an undesirable, expedient.

This situation has arisen in part from the Government's own mistakes since 1947. A number of its legislative measures have created a lack of confidence amongst investors both in and outside India, the Kashmir situation has resulted in some 50 per cent of her revenue being spent on armaments. The refusal to recognise the Pakistan exchange rate for 17 months harmed the economics of both countries. In addition, natural causes in the form of droughts, floods and earthquakes have resulted in unexpected calls on the country's resources.

POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY

A factor which must constantly be borne in mind by those industrialists contemplating investment in India is the future of the Congress Party.

This Party for some 40 years had one main purpose—to get rid of British rule. When it achieved this objective, the reason for its existence disappeared and with it the cement which bound its members together, despite the greatest diversity of views on other subjects. In consequence, after partition, doubtless splits would have developed much more markedly than has been the case, had it not been for the need for unity to deal with the tremendous problems confronting the new Government. The series of crises which have arisen have probably only postponed this development, signs of which are now beginning to appear. It is scarcely likely that at the first general election under the new Constitution at the end of this year, Congress will be defeated—but eventual defeat must be expected and some other party or perhaps a coalition of parties, will come into power. The possibility of such a party being further to the left than Congress must be borne in mind. Unfortunately, the Communists are active as was indicated recently by the Home Minister when introducing the Preventive Detention Bill. The fertile soil of poverty in which the Communist seed propagates most readily, is there in abundance.

If the recent municipal elections at Howrah in which the local Congress Party lost 16 of their 30 seats to a leftist coalition, including Communists and Socialists, can be regarded as a straw showing which way the wind is blowing, the outlook is somewhat bleak, but of course, Bengal has always been a storm centre.

It seems to me that India went too fast in granting universal suffrage under the new Constitution, for I feel that the giving of the vote to illiterates put them at the mercy of the men with the glib tongues and the least scruples in making promises.

The political outlook of India therefore may, and I suspect does, act as a deterrent to industrialists as also to the technicians, whom India so badly needs.

India's greatest problem today is that of feeding her vast and rapidly increasing population, now estimated at 356 million. The Government introduced plans intended to make India self-sufficient in food by the end of this year. In consequence of these plans, imports of food and the placing of forward orders were restricted, with the result that, to quote a recent article in *The Times*, "Unless she can import six million tons of food grains in 1951, India will face famine over large areas. This is her biggest problem, for, quite apart from the humanitarian aspect, famine spells discontent and discontent could spell Communism."

During the course of my tour of India, I met Ministers both of the Central and various State Governments, and a number of the leading Civil Servants, more especially those connected with commerce and

industry. I was impressed by their very friendly reception of me, and by the general desire which seems to exist in Government circles for British co-operation in industrial development. I also met some of the leading business people, and here again the desire was frequently expressed that British manufacturers should go out to India and co-operate in development plans.

In the early days after independence was achieved, the Congress Party seemed obsessed with the fear that local interests would be swamped by the inrush of foreign industrialists who would exploit the Indian market to their detriment. That fear has I think largely disappeared in inner Government circles where it is increasingly recognised that, if the co-operation of foreign capital in developing India's resources is to be secured, inducements rather than threats must be offered. However there was so much propaganda by the Congress Party against exploitation by British capital, in the old days, that it is likely to be a very long time before this change of view is generally accepted. In consequence, such statements as have been made by Mr. Nehru and others to reassure foreign capitalists have been of a somewhat tentative nature for fear, I imagine, of an outcry from their followers. Possibly, if Congress comes back to power at the next election, the leaders will feel themselves in a sufficiently strong position to give more outright assurances than in the past.

It would seem that the propaganda against exploitation, which must be linked with propaganda against capitalism generally, has had an adverse effect on production in India. During the last three years, the index of industrial production has come down from 105 to 94. In the same period, industrial production has increased in the United Kingdom from 109 to 124 and in the United States, from 177 to 183. This slowing up of production has of course, taken place against a great increase in the population.

In some quarters the view was expressed to me that United Kingdom industrialists were missing an opportunity of getting in before the rush, and naturally enough those of this opinion tended to ignore the factors of uncertainty to which I have alluded, which might mean that the rush would be for the Gadarène stakes rather than for the Profits Purse. Similarly, the fact that British firms today are being pressed by various other countries to assist in industrial development, tended to be overlooked.

I am sure that there are very great opportunities for British manufacturers of a variety of goods who are prepared to invest capital and technical knowledge in India, but the risks are also considerable and there may be in some cases a tendency to hold back, and await the outcome of the Kashmir situation and possibly also of the pending general election.

THE COLOMBO PLAN

The Colombo Development Plan, into which the Indian plans for industrial development have been dovetailed, may increase confidence in Indian industrial development, but too much reliance should not be placed upon this, as the Plan has admittedly been evolved in order to build up a dam against the spread of Communism, the threat of which is itself a factor of uncertainty. Furthermore, a large part of the cost of India's six year programme of development has to be internally financed. It would seem unfortunate that this Plan could not have been launched at an earlier date, possibly a year or so after the grant of independence, but in 1948 Britain was still struggling to meet a huge backlog of orders from world markets and simultaneously was engaged in switching productive capacity to a peacetime basis. Today, this switchover has had to be put into reverse in some measure, which is bound to increase the difficulties of British industry in meeting India's requirements under the Plan.

CONSUMER GOODS

As a market for British goods, I believe India should become of increasing importance despite internal industrial development, provided, of course, there is no outbreak of war and that the country does not go Communist. The development of local manufactures will, naturally, restrict the market for some classes of both consumer and capital goods, but it will be many years before India becomes self-supporting, if ever she does. The Government's development plans call for the provision of equipment on a large scale, and industrial development by private enterprise also creates demands for machinery and plant of one sort and another. Further, these developments will increase the amount of money in circulation and thereby create new demands for consumer goods. If, as is hoped, industrial developments result in actually raising the standard of living, even if only by a fraction, the increased demands of a population of 361 million people will be great.

This, however, is taking a long-term view in the case of consumer goods, for it would seem that for the next few years India will be forced to restrict such imports to the minimum, although some relaxation may be looked for as the Colombo Plan gets under way, for the Government rightly intends to use part of the development capital to be provided, for financing imports of consumer goods, in order to prevent inflation from getting out of hand. The general picture however, as I see it, is that India is faced with an extremely difficult problem for she must import very large

quantities of capital goods for industrial development and simultaneously must import very large quantities of foodstuffs. It has been estimated that India must produce or import an additional $\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of food each year to provide for the annual increase of population alone.

Since 1947, India has benefited from her ability to draw on the sterling balances, which, in consequence, have been very substantially reduced. Under the Colombo Plan further substantial reductions will take place, and the new agreement with Pakistan is likely to result in transferring calls on sterling to that country. In these circumstances, it seems to me that imports of consumer goods, broadly speaking, must be largely at the expense of imports of food and/or capital goods, and import restrictions are therefore likely to remain severe for some very considerable time.

Admittedly, of recent months there have been some relaxations of import controls, but these have been made from force of circumstance and, I suspect, are only temporary and do not indicate any fundamental change of policy. Food prices which fell somewhat from their peak in September, 1950, during the succeeding months, began to rise again in February and the prices for industrial raw materials, semi-manufactures and miscellaneous goods, have also risen since last autumn. The index figure for all commodities—the base figure was 100 in 1939—stood at the end of February at 423.4 having risen from 409.2 in August, 1950. This continued rise in prices probably accounts for some relaxation in import control.

THE PAKISTAN RUPEE

The Finance Minister, Mr. Ghulam Mahommed, was able to announce various reductions in taxation in the Budget for the coming year. Income tax has been reduced, the exemption period for the profits of industrial undertakings has been extended by three years, and certain other tax concessions have been made. In addition, customs duties have been reduced and in some cases abolished on a variety of goods.

Like India, Pakistan has seriously depleted her cash reserves which by the close of the year 1951-52 will, it is estimated have fallen to rupees 26.72 lakhs. Capital expenditure can therefore no longer be met from this source. In previous years, Pakistan's balance of payments was unfavourable, and in consequence she overdrew on the sterling balances. For the past year, Mr. Ghulam Mahommed announced that a favourable balance of payments had been achieved. This is the outcome of the increased exports of cotton and the rise in prices for this and other raw materials exported.

These increases in the value of Pakistan's exports, largely it would seem the result of the war in Korea, have also justified the decision to maintain

the Pakistan rupee at the old rate. However, this rise in world prices could not have been foreseen when the decision was made. Had it not taken place, Pakistan might have found it very difficult to maintain the rate for her rupee, and last autumn signs of distrust in her ability to do so were evident. The Trade Agreement with India, whereby the latter recognises the present rate, which brings to an end the 17 months deadlock between the two countries, encourages confidence in her ability to maintain the rate in the future.

The Budget concessions have been made possible largely as a result of increased revenue arising from the increases in export prices, and any downward movement in these would thus have an immediate effect on the internal and external financial position.

POLITICAL SITUATION

When I was in Pakistan, I gained the impression, which I believe was shared by many with much knowledge of the country, that the threat of Communism was not as apparent there as in India. This, despite suggestions in some quarters that she might be ready to call on Russia for aid in certain circumstances. In the recent plot against the Prime Minister the moving spirits were probably inspired rather by a combination of personal ambition and a desire for a stronger policy regarding Kashmir, than by any belief in Communist doctrines.

In common with India, Pakistan has not yet had a general election and indeed she has yet to approve and bring into operation a new Constitution. This makes the recent election in the Punjab to the provincial legislature of particular interest. It was incidentally, the first election held in the sub-continent under adult suffrage. As was expected the Muslim League, the Prime Minister's Party, secured a large majority over the opposing parties. It is difficult to say how far this result is indicative of what might happen when a general election takes place.

Pending a general election Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should be able to maintain his leadership of the country. His position has been weakened however, by the continued failure to secure a settlement of the Kashmir issue. The extremists in the opposition parties appear to have linked up the Kashmir issue with a demand to quit the Commonwealth, membership of which, it is alleged, is of no value to Pakistan. Britain's popularity has tended to wax and wane according to the manner in which she has dealt with this issue, and the continued failure to secure a settlement provides ammunition to all those opposed to the British connection, and in consequence, opposed to the Prime Minister's policy.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

As in my Indian tour, so in Pakistan, I had meetings with leading personalities and here also, I received the most friendly welcome with frequent expressions of hope that British manufacturers would co-operate with Pakistani interests in industrial development.

It would seem that in Pakistan, the fear of foreign exploitation was never as great as in India, and in consequence the psychological attitude to overseas investment is on the whole more favourable. In other words, there is a more widespread realization of the need for outside help than in India, if development plans are to progress, and an appreciation of the consequent need to offer inducements to foreign capital.

Pakistan, however, is much less industrially developed than India. She lacks iron, adequate coal resources and most other raw materials. However, there is no doubt that developments can take place in the precessing of such raw materials as jute, cotton, wool, hides, food grains, fruit, etc. There is room for very considerable expansion, apart entirely from developments which may eventually take place when her mineral resources have been more completely surveyed.

There have already been opportunities for participation by overseas firms in hydro-electric power developments, and various schemes which are not yet in operation will call for further help of this nature. Pakistan is a participant in the Colombo Plan, and the Government's plans for development for the next six years account for £280 million of the total expenditure of £1,868 million envisaged.

Starting from scratch as she did, Pakistan has undoubtedly made quite amazing progress in the very brief period of three and a half years. No visitor to the country can fail to be impressed by the manner in which the Government and people are tackling the many problems which have to be overcome. I sensed a remarkable spirit of unity.

THE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH BRITAIN

The outlook for the export trade in consumer goods with Pakistan seems on the whole to be somewhat more hopeful than is the case in India. Her favourable balance of payments should enable her to relax the present very strict control of imports. Unlike India, Pakistan has no food problem, for, food is one of her major exports, for which the Trade Agreement with India offers her a ready market at her door.

The Trade Agreement with the United Kingdom, signed on April 2nd, is naturally a disappointment to British manufacturers, for under it many of the preferences previously granted to a variety of British goods are

annulled. British trade has already suffered considerably as a result of the dispute with India over the exchange rate. This dispute forced Pakistan to look elsewhere for markets, and in consequence, she entered into bilateral trade agreements with many countries. These agreements have reacted to our disadvantage, for they have resulted in import licences being granted for the importation of goods from these countries, which have been refused to similar goods of British origin. Unfortunately as far as I can see, the new agreement does not meet this difficulty, but, as a result of the Trade Agreement with India, Pakistan will be in a stronger position when she comes to renegotiate these bilateral agreements, and it may be that something will be done to prevent their penalising British trade in future.

The Trade Agreement with India will undoubtedly bring great benefits to Pakistan. It has been estimated that the volume of trade envisaged therein, may involve India in an adverse trade balance of Rs. 50 crores, which Pakistan has the right to convert into British sterling. The benefits however, are not entirely on one side, for the agreement will help India to overcome the food shortage and will be of special benefit to the jute and cotton industries which have been carrying on under great difficulties for lack of adequate supplies of raw materials.

THE OUTLOOK

Friends have told me that I tend to underline the uncertainties and risks, and to pay insufficient regard to the great difficulties India and Pakistan have had to face, and the really remarkable manner in which many of them are being overcome. I was much impressed, as I think no one who visits the sub-continent can fail to be, by what has been achieved despite the disasters and misfortunes of these years. However, making due allowance for the tremendous difficulties encountered, one cannot ignore the fact that some of them could have been mitigated or even avoided altogether.

Holding these views, I cannot regard the future with any degree of certainty. If things go well, more especially if the Kashmir issue is settled satisfactorily, then I am sure there is a great future for both countries and that Britain has a part to play in helping them to achieve their development aims and thereby raise the standard of living of the masses of the people.

My impression is that the people of India and Pakistan, with naturally some exceptions, would rather have Britain's co-operation in developments than that of any other country. Our destinies have been inextricably mixed for something like 200 years and although Britain may have done

some things which are condemned in the Indian sub-continent, she has done very much more on the credit side. An understanding has been built up during this long period of close association, which cannot possibly be equalled by any other country. To put it at its worst, both India and Pakistan would, I believe, prefer co-operation with the devil they know. There are however, better grounds than this for co-operative development, in the form of a genuine liking and appreciation for British methods, and on the part of the British people in the Sub-Continent, a regard for both peoples.

One factor in this question of our future relations impresses me as of the greatest importance, and that is the type of people we send out to these countries as our trade representatives. In the past, Britain's most important representatives were the men who joined the old I.C.S., not only to make careers, but with a genuine desire to promote the welfare of those with whom they were to deal. They learned to love the peoples of the sub-continent and their achievements are attested by the fact that these two new countries have come into being with complete self-government. In the future, outside diplomacy, Britain will be represented, by business people, and we may hope that they will maintain the same high standards as those set by the old Civil Service. Hence those whom we send out to live in India or Pakistan, should receive some training before they leave these shores, so as to arouse their interest in the history and culture of the country in which they are to work. They would thus be prepared to take an interest, not only in their particular job of work but in the people amongst whom they are living.

In the past, Britons overseas have tended to keep closely together and to establish a little England or a little Wales or Scotland or Ireland, as the case may be. Times have changed, and British people should not be cut off from those amongst whom they live and work. The closer and more friendly relations they can establish with them the better. I suggest that not only is the choice of the men we send out of great importance, but that their wives can play an equally important part.

During the past few years, I have had the good fortune to make several Commonwealth tours. Of the different countries I have visited, I found India and Pakistan by far the most interesting. They are fascinating countries, and those who go to them today, if prepared to co-operate on an equal basis with their peoples, and to take an interest in their histories and their very different ways of life, can be ambassadors of the goodwill we at home have towards India and Pakistan. They will, in fact, help to build up a new relationship with Britain which I am convinced can do much good to the world as a whole.

LORD OGMORE'S VIEWS

THE RT. HON. LORD OGMORE, (then Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations) presided. In introducing Mr. Maurice Watt, he said his Department had recently supplied him with some figures of the trade between this country and India and Pakistan, and he had been amazed at the increase in the value of this trade since pre-war days. Many people would say that the increase did not necessarily represent one of volume, but it was nevertheless surprising that it was so great. It related to both imports and exports. In 1938, United Kingdom imports from India and Pakistan amounted to £49.9 m. ; in 1950 (largely before the effect of the Korean war had been felt) they amounted to £124.2 m. Exports to India in 1938 amounted to £33.7 m., and in 1950 to £137.7 m.

In considering these two countries he was reminded of an incident which occurred in 1947. During that year some editors came over to this country. They were very prominent people, and certain Members of Parliament were asked to meet them. They put forward an analysis of the existing economic position of this country, and held they proved conclusively that by the end of 1948 we should be bankrupt, and that there was no possible way in which the United Kingdom could surmount its difficulties. The reply which had been given to them was that although there was no apparent error in their argument, the British had surmounted their difficulties so often in the past when faced with ruin that they felt they would be able to do so again.

Lord Ogmores felt that probably the same answer applied in the case of India and Pakistan and that however black the outlook might appear at any particular moment, the people of those countries would surmount their troubles and would have the happy future we all wished for them.

Mr. Watt had asked for it to be made clear that any of the remarks he made on this occasion did not necessarily represent the opinion of the F.B.I.

After the lecture the CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Watt had obviously put a tremendous amount of thought into the compilation of his paper and it had been forthright and thought provoking. This did not mean that they had all necessarily agreed with everything that had been said, but it was very important for them to consider what Mr. Watt's views were because they were likely to be the views of many important business houses in this country.

Although no official backing had been claimed for the speech it was nevertheless bound to have an effect upon business opinion and, to some extent, to represent it. They all wanted to have trade flowing freely

between India and Pakistan and this country and it was therefore necessary to know what was in the minds of commercial people so that difficulties could be removed. They had been told about the uncertainties of the position. The present age was, of course, one of uncertainties, which were not confined to India and Pakistan alone but were present in other countries as well. Business men had to take risks in the East as well as in the West.

THE INDIAN FOOD SHORTAGE

Lord Ogmore did not wish to conclude without saying a word about the very serious food situation which was developing in Bihar and other parts of India. A great tragedy was looming up and unless provisions in sufficient quantities could be got to the areas concerned before the monsoon broke about the middle of June those areas would be in very great jeopardy, and one could foresee the possibilities of great disaster in India which they all earnestly hoped would not take place.

He was glad that this country had been able to assist with shipping to move supplies to the sub-continent. Presumably the main difficulty in India in this connection, as in other countries, was to do with the effect of an ever increasing population and an ever decreasing fertility of the land which had to bear the population. The situation would call for great statesmanship on the part of Indian leaders and considerable sacrifice and possibly changes in custom on the part of the people. The matter appeared to be one of the many tragedies which were resulting from an uncertain world situation.

One of the consequences of Russia's activities was that the West was unable, because of its defence plans, to support the necessary re-organisation in these parts of the world where more equipment should be going on to the land. The supply of consumer goods would undoubtedly have to be diminished in order to meet the rearmament programme.

He had been at United Nations during the last fall and had had the honour of speaking for Gt. Britain on this vexed problem. As one who had had a life-long interest in these problems he felt very bitter about the fact that work which could be done in certain fields was impeded by the activities of Russia. Although that country set herself out as the champion of the oppressed peoples, she was to-day in fact the power doing most to make them more oppressed. He had on more than one occasion had the duty of telling this to the various representatives of the world at United Nations.

The lecturer had been perfectly correct in saying that the type of person selected to go out from this country would be of great importance in the

future. At one time, he (Lord Ogmore) had lived in Malaya and even some twenty years ago he had been struck by the impression that the sort of person who was going out there for a commercial firm tended to be different from the person who did so in the nineteenth century. This was partly because such people were frequently moving about and partly because great personal interest in the place had been lost.

In the nineteenth century in Penang, for example, the actual heads of firms had lived there and had taken a great personal interest in the country. In the course of time some of the firms became merged with other companies, and then a general manager would take over and he would be there for only a year or two before going elsewhere. Multiple firms no doubt provided many advantages in small towns, perhaps in the form of cheaper and better packed food, but they had the effect of taking away small tradesmen from the life of the town. A manager was rarely as good in this respect as the head of a business.

MISS EVELYN GEDGE noted the stress laid by Mr. Watt on the personality of British business men sent out to India. She thought at one period the British were extremely exclusive. One thought, for example, of the old days of the Yacht Club, Bombay, which was now used in relation to atomic and cosmic rays. Mr. Watt had not mentioned one class of people which she considered came nearer to India than any other, the missionaries. She spoke as one who had been head of the University Settlement in Bombay and had been told by a Muslim High Court Judge that the missions were as near to India as any section. He had, in fact, gone into the Settlement on one occasion to warn her that she must not lose her British "bridgehead" if she wanted to help India.

For twenty years she had had the privilege of living closely with women students there, people who were potential doctors and lawyers and members of other professions. One got to know their national aspirations very well and to have warm appreciation of them. A very senior I.C.S. man had once said to her that if they themselves had been born Indians they would be 100 per cent. more pro-nationalist than the Indians themselves.

On the occasion of an intimate talk with Mr. Jinnah, he had said that those who went to India with the idea of helping socially or in religious ways were more than welcome.

EXCHANGES WITH S.E.ASIA

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD said that, as Mr. Watt had pointed out, India's main problem was concerned with raising the standard of living of the

population, and the solution would come with the provision of more food. India had not succeeded in reaching self-sufficiency in the production of food, and he personally doubted if she ever would. Mr. Nehru's mind was probably working on the assumption that India would always have to import a certain amount of food and in a recent speech he had referred to the possibilities of trade with South-East Asia. His idea was apparently that those countries were mainly concerned with the production of raw materials and food and that India would improve her position by exporting consumer goods in exchange for food. Did Mr. Watt consider that India was capable of engaging in trade in this direction with the countries of South-East Asia ?

Mr. WATT said he thought that in certain respects to-day India could meet some of the requirements for consumer goods in South-East Asia. She was a big exporter before the war and as her industrial development went ahead one could reasonably expect an increase in manufactured goods by her for such markets. She knew the type of goods which would sell there and these were similar to the type she produced for her own country. It was always a big advantage for a country to have overseas markets for the same goods produced for home consumption.

He did not think that India had a great deal to spare for S.E. Asia to-day but if her development progressed it seemed that she should be able to meet the requirements of those territories to a very considerable extent if they were prepared to continue to be purchasers and not increase their own manufacturing capacity, which he rather doubted.

In reply to Miss Gedge, he regretted that he had made no reference to the work of the missionaries. Obviously, people with the ideals of the missionaries were the best ambassadors. Provided that the people who went to India upheld British ideals and Christian ideals they could not fail to establish goodwill and a relationship which would increase and expand in all directions in future.

POINTS OF DETAIL

In reply to further questions Mr. WATT said that the many embassies set up in India were to some extent a stabilising factor but they could not, of course, interfere at all with the internal affairs of the country. Although they were useful to their own country and to the people of the sub-continent, he thought that their influence as people must be relied upon more than the fact that they were particular representatives.

Apart from jute and cotton from Pakistan, wool and tea were among the most important exports. Quite a lot of tea from Pakistan came here. There were also hides and skins, which were important both to India

and ourselves, and kapok, shellac, bees-wax and the food grains which India normally drew from Pakistan. What was to-day West Pakistan used to be the granary of the Indian sub-continent, and it was hoped that it would become so again. Fruit was also a possible export for the future.

In Pakistan he had been approached by a number of people who were particularly concerned with books and education generally, and who wanted to know why there was difficulty in getting British books. It had to be remembered that at that time there was an undeclared economic war between India and Pakistan, and complaints were made that some British publishers still seemed to regard the two countries as one and continued to send all the books to India.

In this connection East Pakistan should not be forgotten because it was there particularly that questions had been raised on the lack of supply of British books. A big demand was waiting to be satisfied if arrangements for distribution could be made.

He would not like to prophesy what success would be met with in the Government's policy of making Hindi the official language of the whole country. He was reminded of the situation in Iceland where Norse was the natural language and one could get a job only if he spoke Norse. As a result, a lot of people were learning that language but he could not imagine people talking it all over Iceland; nor could he foresee a truly national language in India in the reasonably near future. One gathered that the idea was most unpopular in certain quarters, for example in the South.

It appeared that English was likely to remain the common tongue of business and educated people there for quite a long time.

Further discussion on the language question was joined in by Mr. H. B. Chanda, Miss Gedge and Mr. Mardy-Jones.

A HOPEFUL PROSPECT

The Earl of INCHCAPE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and lecturer, said that Mr. Watt had given to them a most excellent address. He himself had just returned from a considerable tour of India and Pakistan and wished to underline everything that had been said in the address about those countries. On this particular visit he had noticed a greater feeling of security and of general hope for the future. Prospects appeared to be good for British business, which was already established in India and Pakistan, and for the manufacturing businesses which were about to start. As the Chairman had so rightly said, business men had to take risks as in the past if they wished both to

help India and Pakistan and to forward their own interests. The future for co-operation with the Pakistan Government appeared brighter. The help which he had been given on his recent visit to the sub-continent and the prospects put forward were most inspiring.

On the question of British personnel, it had been said that the Civil Service had been the main ambassadors in the past, but business men were in India long before the Civil Servants was established. With the way that the cost of living was mounting in India and increased taxation there were not many firms who could continue to pay very high allowances and keep staffs there unless they were of the very highest grade. The question of recruitment of men of the top calibre was a problem which faced anyone with responsibilities in industries in India and Pakistan. The high taxation and cost of living there were not very attractive and young men often preferred similar conditions in this country where they were able to carry on for a considerably longer period. Firms sending men to the East had to provide terms which would allow them to return at a comparatively early age. This was a problem which faced them and also the young men in universities. It should be stressed that such men had to be of the highest ability.

FROM DEPENDENCE TO SOVEREIGN STATUS: THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECT

THE LECTURE on this subject of Dr. Percival Spear of Selwyn College, Cambridge, on March 7, 1951, was given in the ASIATIC REVIEW for April (pages 115—128). MR. H. V. HODSON (Editor of the *Sunday Times*) was in the Chair and, in introducing the lecturer, said that it was a great privilege to preside over a lecture by Dr. Spear on such a subject of pressing importance—an importance which had been brought home to them with particular impact by the recent events in East and West Africa and in the West Indies. Dr. Spear was to give his reflections, drawn mostly from experience in India, Pakistan and Ceylon, on the process of transition from dependence to self-government. That process, as they had been reminded, was going on elsewhere in the Commonwealth, and was a very difficult and embarrassing one in which many mistakes could be made, both in pace and in detail.

He added that he had known Dr. Spear when he was lecturing in Delhi University, and his independence of judgment, detachment from

affairs, and penetrating insight were particularly valuable to those who were inevitably caught up from day to day in the government of India and in its particular prejudices and points of view. Dr. Spear was known as a detached critic to everyone who was familiar with the India of recent years, and he hoped that any who had not done so would take the opportunity of reading his small book on India and Pakistan.

PARALLELISM NOT COMPLETE

After the lecture THE CHAIRMAN said that Dr. Spear had put some thoughts into their minds which they would reflect upon with great care and interest in thinking about dependent parts of the Empire. At the same time, the parallelism was not complete by any means, and one had to recall that there were some substantial differences between what was now called the Colonial Empire and the Indian sub-continent. In the Colonial Empire the chiefs were not like the Indian princes, they were not the heads of organised Governments. The individual units which seemed to be heading for some form of national self-government were not independent, and could not be, as regards their public services. There must be some interchange, and therefore the suggestion that they should be under local government rather than the Secretary of State did not apply with the same force.

Again, there were, of course, in these colonies substantial European or other immigrant peoples immensely complicating the problem. One must have all these things in mind when endeavouring to apply the lessons derived from the Indian sub-continent to colonial affairs.

THE I.C.S. AND THE REFORMS

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM said that if he stood there as representing that privileged body, the Indian Civil Service, he was not quite sure that full justice had been done to them by the lecturer. He did not believe that from the start the I.C.S. represented an excessive conservatism, nor that they acted as a brake on progress all the time.

Mistakes were made, but he was by no means certain that they were made by the I.C.S. Many of them held that when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms came into operation in 1921 the recruitment to the I.C.S. in England should have been stopped. There were those in the Civil Service at that time who said that if India was to believe that they were really sincere that this constitution was planned to lead in ordered sequence to full self-government, they could not continue sending out from England a privileged class of administrators. Of course, there were

in any Service a certain number of reactionaries, who in this case thought they were going too fast.

He himself was in India at an extraordinarily interesting time. He served there from 1904 to 1941, and he saw not only the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms but also the movements which culminated in the Government of India Act, 1935. The 1935 Act never had a chance. When the lecturer spoke about the defects in our constitutional planning he was really choosing for his target the 1919 Act for the most part. That dyarchy, that division in the provinces between Ministerial subjects and subjects administered by the Members of the Governor's Executive Council, was only a stage, and they passed beyond that stage.

He had had the honour of being connected very closely with the framing of the 1935 Act and also of being the Governor of a new province set up under that Act charged with the duty of getting that constitution to work. He believed that the constitution would have worked, not at all because he himself had a part in making it, but because it was carefully thought out and was made with elaborate precautions. But it was wrecked by the intervention of the second European war. Just before this event Congress had been coaxed to come in and work the constitution. At first they boycotted it. He was not one of those who blamed the Congress for doing so. The whole attitude towards reform, however wise in essence was bound to be offensive to the Indians so long as the British set themselves up to judge how rapid the progress should be, and how far each stage should go, and who should be the examining authority to determine whether things were ripe for another advance. Of course, that was most galling to the Indians and he could imagine nothing more offensive to Indian sentiment at large than the sending out to India of the Simon Commission and all the things that followed thereafter. The Indians were bound to say, whatever happened, "This is not what we wanted, and we are not going to take it humbly at your hands."

Therefore the 1935 Act started off with prejudice, and they had just about conquered that prejudice and the machinery was just beginning to run, even in the Congress-dominated provinces, when the war began, and Congress, wrongly as they might think, resented India being put into the war without any reference to the Indian legislature. Under that 1935 constitution, of course, India was not a self-governing Dominion. It had no control over its foreign relations, and Whitehall, just round the corner, was fully authorised to put India into the war. As was known, Congress walked out, and it was this and the war itself and all the trouble connected therewith which hamstrung the operation of the 1935 Act.

He did not stand there entirely to justify the action of the British, but he thought the lecturer might have made just that point, that what he

was criticising was the 1919 Act, because the 1935 Act never really got going. The justification of the 1935 Act had been that with very little modification it was used as a working model for the constitution after Dominion status had been given in the Act of 1947. It was used as a working model until such time as the new Dominions should have worked out their own constitution in the Constituent Assembly. Pakistan was still doing that. The Indian Constitution came into operation comparatively recently, and he might add, without applauding the authors of the 1935 constitution unduly, that slabs of that constitution were incorporated in the constitution of the Indian Republic. What he would ask the lecturer to agree was that they made a great experiment in conferring self-government upon India. Mistakes were made, but in judging success or failure account should have been taken of the intervention of the Second World War.

Mr. R. R. PATNAIK held that it was only under duress, when Britain was weakened as the result of the Second World War, that she accorded independence to India. So long as she was in a strong position this was not done. Of the Indian Civil Service many of the servants no doubt had brilliant records, but most of them were neither Indian, civil, nor servants.

THE STEPPING STONES OF DYARCHY

Sir FRANCIS LOWE touched on the problem of the great experiment of dyarchy. He thought it was Mr. Lionel Curtis in whose mind the idea originated. It was carried out in a field where the vast mass of the people were illiterate, but with its various faults and failings it had won tremendous success, namely, that it did train the Indian people in the way of Parliamentary democracy. He could quote as important an authority as Mahatma Gandhi who on one occasion, when he was pleading for non-co-operation and found that he was not getting his own way, agreed reluctantly that the Parliamentary mentality had come to stay. In all their dealings with India there was one thing of which they could be proud namely, that under British rule India had learned Parliamentary democracy and all of them who knew India hoped that Parliamentary democracy would stay.

Dr. BHATRA argued that racial discrimination persisted until as late as the 'thirties. As an example, in the Indian Medical Service, there was a great plurality of British doctors, although the rule was that the Service should be evenly divided between British and Indian doctors. The

Secretary of State, advertising a vacancy in the I.M.S. would stipulate that the candidate must be of "European descent." Dr. Bhatra also held that there had been over-representation of minorities and extravagant claims made on their behalf.

Dr. PERCIVAL SPEAR, in reply, said that what he had endeavoured to do in his paper was to draw lessons from past experience to help one in looking forward to future development. He still felt that in certain respects the I.C.S. collectively was a drag on constitutional development. This did not mean that he did not appreciate the great value of the Service to India in its collective as well as its individual aspects. But their experience with the Service in one country might carry suggestions for its development on analogous lines in another. He would agree with Sir Lancelot Graham that the 1935 Act never got a full chance. It was worked for about two years before the second world war broke out, and, further, the princes had not by that time been coaxed to come in to enable the Federal centre to be established. The 1919 Act was better than nothing, but it would have been still better if they had gone a little further.

Mr. Patnaik, had expressed the view that the only reason why the British agreed finally to independence was under duress. It was quite true that in 1945 the British were not very strong in holding to anything ; but Indian independence did not date from the second world war ; it dated from the first world war. The real test was what the British did when they were strong and apparently secure in India, and that situation existed from 1925 to 1935. It was in those ten years that the great decision was made by those responsible for policy in this country that they must go forward with the project of independence, and the 1935 Act was the proof of that resolution. This, he thought, was evidence of the sincerity and genuineness of the British people in self-government.

He quite agreed with Sir Francis Low that the great value of dyarchy was that it provided an excellent training for political leaders, and in that respect it was very much better than nothing ; but it would, he believed, have been better still if the views of Sir Lancelot Graham and his friends in 1921 had prevailed and the I.C.S. had been Indianised then and provincial autonomy inaugurated.

He thought Dr. Bhatra was under a misapprehension in believing that there was racial discrimination as late as 1930. In the actual Service which he had mentioned, namely, the I.M.S., the rule at the time was that there should be a fixed percentage—fifty-fifty—of Indians, but of course until the Indian percentage could be made up there was no option for the authorities but to recruit British entrants.

He had talked a lot about the experiment. . It was not as successful as many of them hoped it would be, but it had been successful in that India was still within the Commonwealth, freely and willingly, and to his mind the justification of the British experiment in India was not so much constitutional details or political relationships; as the fact that now that they had stepped aside, India was marching on, determining her own destiny and that they had left behind in India the principles of British justice, of British democratic institutions, and the British way of life—things which were apparently now of more value in that great country than they were when we were still responsible for its government,

On the motion of MR. EDWARD LASCELLES a vote of thanks was accorded the lecturer and the chairman.

A SHAKESPEARIAN TOUR OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Mr. NORMAN MARSHALL, manager of the Shakespeare Recital Company, sent to India and Pakistan by the British Council, gave a most interesting and entertaining talk at a joint meeting with the Over-Seas League, on Thursday, 10th May. Major-General Sir Kenneth Loch was in the Chair.

Mr. Marshall outlined the difficulties which had to be overcome from the inception of the project. The distances to be covered in the sub-continent were very great and the consequent expense of moving the company, together with props, scenery, costumes, lighting, etc. was heavy, for, on account of time limits, almost all travelling was by air. A further obstacle was (with the exception of Calcutta) the lack of theatres, as the few theatres which had existed are now converted into cinemas. In spite of these drawbacks the British Council in their preliminary survey found such an overwhelming demand for Shakespeare recitals that they decided to sponsor the tour of the company of 10 actors and actresses. During its stay the party covered a distance of 7,000 miles and visited 17 cities giving two or three performances in each. The excerpts were from *Macbeth*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It* and *The Tempest*. The tour was to a considerable extent self-supporting.

The reaction of the audiences was most gratifying, and although in some places they were composed largely of those not understanding English, they seemed to enjoy the sound of the rhetoric, the colour and movement, and their appreciation was somewhat akin to what one supposed that of an Elizabethan audience to have been—simple, unabashed enjoyment. One of the most popular plays in India was *Julius Caesar*. At the university towns the audiences, composed chiefly of students, knew their Shakespeare so well that often the rather strange and disconcerting mumble from the auditorium which accompanied the play was discovered to be the young people repeating the lines after the actors. In Pakistan, Mr. Marshall, found that the tragedies were most appreciated especially *Macbeth*, which might have been due to the topicality of this play at the time. The company found their best audiences in Madras, where the standard of English literacy is highest. Somehow Calcutta lacked the enthusiasm, and warmth which they found in the other towns visited.

Mr. Marshall referred to what he called the "Battle of the English Language." Hindi has been made the official language of the Union, but with the optional use of English for the first 15 years of the Constitution. On this and the question of continuing to teach English in schools and colleges opinion is sharply divided. Nagpur seemed to be the spearhead of the faction who desired disregard of English, but there were many anxious to retain the culture and language bequeathed to them from the years of British rule. The tour of the company had brought to many the sound of the English tongue as spoken by English people, as opposed to the incomprehensible jargon which passed for English in some of the University towns. He hoped that the enthusiasm which had greeted their performances wherever they went would have some effect on the Government's policy in finally deciding the issue of whether English was to continue to be taught as a second language in the schools and colleges.

Mr. Marshall concluded by saying that he hoped the value of the tour in spreading goodwill among the ordinary people with whom the company had come in contact had justified the expense and trouble undertaken by the British Council in sending the players to India and Pakistan.

APPRECIATION OF SHAKESPEARE IN THE ORIENT

MRS. HELENA NORMANTON, K.C., was the chief guest at a party for students from India and Pakistan given by the East India Association on Friday, 16th March, at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Lady Hartog introduced Mrs. Normanton and spoke of her achievements as a pioneer of women called to the Bar, and of "taking silk" as King's Council ; she also commented on Mrs. Normanton's long years of service to women's movements.

Mrs Normanton recalled her editorship of *India*, the National Congress Weekly in London at the time of discussions of the Government of India Act, 1919. In those days she had to compress profuse contributions into very restricted space. Now she was going to attempt to "pour the ocean into a pint pot" by giving an appreciation of Shakespeare in a brief address. Shakespeare was an "uncrowned king," for his works were read by people of every nation, and however much they might differ in other matters, they were agreed that Shakespeare was a master of verse. In his works he portrayed the trends and practices of his day, and he brought to bear on them a searching but kindly criticism. He was far above petty and trifling prejudices, and believed in the dignity and equality of man regardless of colour or creed. Mrs. Normanton raised the interesting but somewhat unorthodox point of view in holding, on the evidence of the plays, that Shakespeare had travelled extensively in the Levantine countries and along the Adriatic coast, and had a personal and sympathetic knowledge of them and their peoples. Most great men, Mrs. Normanton maintained, turned at some time for relaxation to this master mind, and it was significant that tributes had been paid to Shakespeare by many scholars of the Orient in the "Shakespeare Tercentenary Volume," published on the 300th anniversary of the poet's death. A knowledge of his plays and sonnets added richness to the lives of those who read them.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS

RAJASTHAN DEVELOPMENTS★

By Lt.-Commander S. O. PANDE

(SECRETARY OF THE BIRLA EDUCATION TRUST)

THE EDUCATIONAL LEGACY inherited by independent India from the former Government was neither rich in quality nor quantity. India with now a population of over 361 millions had in 1947-48 only 11 millions in primary schools—8 out of 10 children not being at school. A little over one million were at the middle stage while the number of boys in the high schools was 1·8 millions and the number in the universities including the intermediate class was just under 184,000. Facilities for technical education were very inadequate, there being in this vast country only 9,719 vocational schools with an enrolment of some 328,000. The percentage of literacy was 8·8 for men and 2·9 for women.

The village masses and the lower classes in towns, are largely illiterate. The middle classes constituting the bulk of the intelligentsia in point of relative numbers compare very favourably even with those countries where economic conditions are more highly developed than ours, but the type of education that was being given in the average school till very lately was divorced from Indian life and thought. It was not suited to divert even boys with a practical bent of mind to occupations or to vocational and industrial institutions. Primary education should have given the children that minimum of general education and training which would ensure permanent literacy, while at the secondary stage the courses should have led to either general education for higher studies or to training colleges, professional and technical institutions for specialised courses. Some compulsory manual training at this stage would have helped in the development of practical aptitudes. The products of such institutions should have been representatives of Indian genius and character, but achievement fell far short of the ideals of any planned system of national education.

In Universities, students knew more about the great dramatists, poets, thinkers and writers of other countries than their own. No historical back-ground of the subjects which make up the genius of the country was given to an Indian student in his own country.

★ Lecture delivered on May 29 at Overseas House, with Mr. D. A. Hardman, Parliamentary Secretary Ministry of Education.

POST-PARTITION EXPANSION

Independent India lost no time in grappling with this vital problem of education in all its aspects. A committee under the able stewardship of Sir John Sargent had produced a very valuable report, outlining a comprehensive scheme of re-organisation and expansion extending over a period of 40 years and entailing an annual expenditure of over Rs. 3,000 million. Four decades was considered to be a long period and the Kher committee reduced it to 16 years with the aim of ensuring 50 per cent. adult literacy in ten years. The Central Government established a Ministry of Education with a strong secretariat manned by experts to co-ordinate the schemes of educational re-organisation and expansion in the States, and promised substantial financial support out of central revenues. It sent over 1,000 scholars overseas for higher technological and scientific training.

The All India Council of Technical Education improved facilities for technical education by reorganising some of the high grade institutions and by opening new ones on modern lines. The national Government also gave the necessary priority to the development of science and scientific research and financed to the best of its capacity a Council for this purpose which opened a chain of national laboratories. The resources of intellectual man power in the country are great and as they get properly developed they will lead the country to prosperity and enable it to make its own contributions to the scientific service of humanity. All other aspects of educational work are receiving due attention at the hands of the Ministry of Education. The ever present financial problem, however, has stood in the way and slowed down the pace of development.

PROGRESS IN RAJASTHAN

Rajasthan is a new entity, formed by the integration of a large number of princely States when India attained independence. Literacy in most of these States was very low and the administration very backward. The Governments not only seemed indifferent to the spread of education but some of them looked with suspicion on benevolent educational organisations. The facilities provided for education were far from satisfactory. It must be recognised, however, that indifference did not apply to Jaipur State which claims to have one of the oldest colleges, a department of Sanskrit studies, a public library of long standing, a school of arts and crafts, and a collection of rare manuscripts and paintings.

The population of Rajasthan is some 15 millions, spread over an area of 128,000 square miles. Proportion of literacy is only 5 per cent (9 per

cent in men and 1 per cent in women). Only 4 per cent of children and young people between the ages of 5 and 20 are in educational institutions. A great part of Rajasthan is sandy, ill-watered and unproductive. Communications are bad and the country is undeveloped and sparsely populated.

Till the last decade the locality in which I have had the privilege to work for over 20 years had no roads. The nearest railway station was 32 miles away. The staff, their families and students were transported on camels, camel carts and on buses when available. On dark nights with no road signs or land marks, drivers relied on their mere sense of direction—a sense which they often possessed in an uncommon measure. Due to winds the cart tracks were often obliterated.

THE BIRLA TRUST

It is well-known that the Birlas have spared neither money nor efforts to provide educational facilities of a very high order in the region of their birth, Pilani. Together with a few other volunteer organisations such as the Vidyamandir at Udaipur and Banasthali Vidyapeeth, these benefactions have given a lead to Rajasthan and far beyond its borders to make education of the young rich and full in several aspects.

These institutions, without exception, had very humble beginnings, yet one of them—Pilani, is on the threshold of becoming a University. Educational facilities of a very high order have been provided rising from nursery schools, to post-graduate and research courses in arts, science and commerce, and degree courses in electrical and mechanical engineering and pharmacy. A sincere effort is being made that no child of ability, however poor, should be debarred from availing himself of the facilities provided. No fees are levied up to the lower secondary stage and a large number of promising students are awarded stipends.

ORIGIN OF THE INSTITUTION

A private school was established at Pilani in 1901 by a wealthy business man, Shivnarayanji Birla, to give in the village of their birth English education to two of his grandsons, Rameswardas and Ghanshyamadas Birla, who to-day are among the top ranking business and industrial magnates of India. One man in the village alone claimed that he knew English; that he could read telegrams but not write one. His claim was found to be untrue when a telegram in English came to hand. Rameswardas and Ghanshyamadas left the school as soon as they learnt to read and write a telegram.

The institution however, continued to advance and in 1929 became an intermediate college. In that year a trust was registered by the Birla brothers for providing literary, scientific and technical education to the sons of the soil and a comprehensive programme of educational development was set on foot.

OVERCOMING ILLITERACY

In 1930 a census of the village of Pilani taken by the students showed the population to be some 4,000. It was found that only 20 per cent of the boys and 12 per cent. of the girls were attending school and that literacy was only 22 per cent. House to house visitation by a band of enthusiastic teachers was organised to induce the parents to send their children to the school. Gram Sewa Sangh (a social service organisation of the college) established a network of night schools for adults. Modern media of mass education, such as display of educational films, magic lantern lectures, open air plays, radio programmes, recitation of Kathas and celebration of festivals were freely used. The 1941 census, again taken by the staff and students, showed that these efforts had borne fruit. Literacy among boys had risen in 10 years by 32 per cent among the girls by 17.5 per cent and among adults by 10 per cent.

The question of making education for boys compulsory was taken up with the State of Jaipur and an Act was passed by the state legislature. This compulsion was introduced, I am sorry to say, in Pilani only. The Birla Education Trust agreed to meet the cost of education which should have been borne by the State and to-day, by the voluntary effort of the workers, almost all the boys of school-going age are in attendance. Several primary schools have been opened for the girls but we have not succeeded in persuading the Rajasthan Government to apply compulsion to girls.

WORK IN OTHER RURAL AREAS

Pilani, pulsating with progressive educational ideas and efforts, could not afford to ignore the surrounding villages with poverty, ignorance, superstition, squalor and disease rampant. It was a colossal task for the Birla Education Trust to try to educate a part of the population within a radius of about 100 miles in such a backward and a difficult country, but as the rural masses responded with enthusiasm the schools opened by the Trust flourished. When Sir Mirza Ismail became Dewan of Jaipur all restrictions imposed on private organisations were removed and the Trust was given a free hand to extend educational effort. Half a dozen supervisors were appointed and directed to establish centres of

light and cheer even in quite small and remote villages. The only conditions were that there should be no school within a radius of three miles of another one, and the village should provide a house for the school and the teacher. The staff worked with zeal and enthusiasm on the slogan 'a school a day' and at the peak period the Department had nearly 400 schools with an enrolment of over 18,000 boys and girls. This was made possible by public co-operation which was given in ample measure. Village committees collected large funds for building schools, organising tournaments, and prize distributions.

VILLAGE LIBRARIES AND RADIO

Circulating libraries were established by the Trust in a number of centres and every two months boxes containing new sets of books changed places. Each set contained 150 books including not only fiction but also biographies and works on health, sanitation, social reform, agriculture, and gardening, and devotional books. Some enthusiastic workers bought battery radio sets. It is not possible to visualise the great joy and astonishment of those people, young and old, who had not even seen a railway train. With gaping mouths they listened to music and at one place started dancing. Local crafts were taught.

A school medicine chest was of immense help to the villagers in places where medical aid was not available. The Trust supplied newspapers which were read to the villagers when they assembled in the school courtyard after the day's work. Festivals were organised and Ramayana, the great Indian epic, was recited on several occasions. The villagers were encouraged to grow vegetables and fruit trees. Seeds and fruit plants were provided by the Rural Education Office.

There are now popular Ministries in the States and the responsibility for public education, especially at the primary stage, is being rightly assumed by them. These schools are now being handed over to the Government.

It was considered essential by the Trust that the children should grow up in environments best suited to develop their physical, moral and intellectual faculties. The first step was to train teachers who had abiding interest in the well-being of children. This having been done, a conference on nursery and child education was convened in Pilani, and was attended by educationalists from several parts of India and Ceylon, It was presided over by Dr. Maria Montessori, who delivered a series of lectures. This gathering gave great stimulus to the workers, and new blue prints to improve child education were prepared. Pre-primary and primary sections were re-organized to give due consideration to the psychic

and physical needs of age groups. New buildings, having rooms of various geometrical shapes, avoiding the monotony of the all too common rectangular type of construction, were built.

CO-ORDINATED INSTRUCTION

The teachers worked hard to create a suitable environment. They prepared pictures, charts and cards in large numbers. The school artists decorated the walls with frescos and panels. A science laboratory with facilities for practical work was added. An audio-visual room fitted with projector, a pictograph, a wire recorder and an amplifier, albums, stereoscopes with large sets of stereoscopic pictures greatly stimulated interest in lessons in geography, history and science. The children were provided with material to carry on the exercises of practical life, to develop concentration, co-ordination of movements, independence and social adjustment. They were given sets of sensorial material which were attractive, educative and auto corrective. The teaching beyond the primary stage was based on a cosmic plan of education. The different subjects were co-ordinated in such a manner that the picture formed in the child's mind was not a disjointed one. The student was allowed to work independently to acquire knowledge through his own experiences. After he had gone through the prescribed curriculum, opportunities were available at all stages of his work to proceed further.

The methods of work in the school have greatly affected the behaviour and character of the children. They not only like the school but are greatly attached to it. The school is child-centred and they feel it is their own. This feeling has brought another wholesome change in their attitude. The pupils feel that the school materials and apparatus are for them and that it is their responsibility to see that they are not mis-used or mis-appropriated. They are discharging this responsibility with great credit. There has grown a sense of orderliness and cleanliness among the children. After use all class material is put back in its proper place.

The independence enjoyed by the children has greatly developed their initiative and given them self-confidence. They have successfully planned and organised dramatic entertainments, social functions and celebrations of festivals. The results so far achieved have encouraged the school to extend the methods of teaching to the higher classes in the schools.

COLLEGE EXPANSION

The Birla Intermediate College—now multiplied into colleges of arts, science, commerce, engineering and pharmacy—grew from a tiny sapling

to a mighty tree. If the college was able to stand shoulder to shoulder with older and better placed institutions, it was because both teachers and students gave their best to it freely and ungrudgingly. The reasons for its early rapid success and popularity are not far to seek. It was a broad based institution with no narrow prejudices of caste, creed or province. Both staff and students were drawn from almost every part of the country. Since all contributed to the formulation of programme, methods, aids and policies, work was done with earnestness and zeal. Very early in the thirties, games and physical training were made compulsory. Playgrounds, a well equipped gymnasium and a large swimming pool, a quarter of a mile in length, were provided and a comprehensive scheme of physical education was drawn up to engage all the boys of the institutions in one or the other physical activity.

BASIC EDUCATION

Long before the Wardha scheme was published, facilities for handicrafts were provided for boys and every student was called upon to learn one. Arts and music were taught outside school hours to those who had special aptitudes. The institution anticipated Lord Linlithgow by several years in making milk compulsory for all students and those who could not afford to pay were given it free. Lectures, debates, reading clubs, dramatic entertainments, were common, and teachers built and collected varied illustrative material for use in and outside the class. Social life was active. Students took active interest in social service, scout and rover crews, adult education, night schools and in organising medical aid during epidemics.

New ideas, new educational aids and equipment and their use and application bore rich fruit in the top-notch honours the alumni won in public examinations, tournaments, national cadet corps competitions, art exhibitions and inter-college debates, etc.

During the war the foundations of the college of electrical and mechanical engineering, were laid by starting a technical centre for the training of artificers. This centre later was transformed into an establishment for training technicians for the Royal Indian Navy and was named as His Majesty's Indian Ship *Pilani*. After hostilities ceased there was prompt establishment of a first grade college of electrical and mechanical engineering, with highly equipped laboratories and workshops. This institution attracts students not only from all parts of India but from Burma, Malaya and South Africa.

For the education of girls, besides several primary schools, Pilani has a residential college teaching up to intermediate classes. Special stress is

laid on the study of domestic science and fine arts, including dancing, handicrafts and vegetable and flower gardening. Few institutions have taken up the 'grow-more-food' campaign so seriously and so effectively as the Birla Balika Vidyapeeth. For many months in the year the girls are able to supply from their own gardens, all the vegetables required by their mess. The Vidyapeeth, young, virile and rich in hope, faces the future confident of the role it has to play in moulding girls' education in Rajasthan.

With such a phenomenal growth of the institutions round the small school started in 1901, blue prints had to be prepared to build a new educational colony on modern lines. 500 acres of land was acquired and the building programme was started in 1943. An area of 700,000 square feet has been built, of which the colleges of engineering and science cover 35,000 square feet.

A dairy with 275 head of cattle is being maintained to supply fresh milk to the colony and a farm of 300 acres supplies a part of the vegetables and cereals. It has its own power plant, its own water works and it maintains several miles of road and looks after its own municipal work inside the campus. 'Pilani' to quote from a remark of a friend, 'is a new laboratory. It has many of the characteristics of a university campus. It may provide educational and political thinkers with considerable material to shape the new pattern of education in India.'

AN UDAIPUR EXPERIMENT

The Vidyabhawan Society at Udaipur, established by Dr. Mohansingh Mehta, now Indian Ambassador at The Hague, is another private institution which has rendered valuable service to the cause of education. It began as a small school in 1931 with distinct aims and methods of its own. Within 20 years it has grown to a fully fledged high school, with a nursery department, and attracts students from far and wide. The training of teachers received foremost attention. The society also runs a basic school, a teachers' training college, a handicraft institute and a publication department. The work is so organised that the children are at school from morning till nightfall. Each child is treated as a distinct personality. The school has the benefit of expert psychological guidance. The intelligence, mental and physical capacities are gauged on admission. Psycho-analytical treatment is given to those who suffer from any serious emotional difficulties or neurosis. Music, art, dancing and handicrafts and compulsory labour form part of the activities of the Institution. The school develops a sense of responsibility and leadership in the students by making them responsible for extra-academic activities.

VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION

A very small village named Banasthali, now equipped with modern facilities, is the seat of a well-known institution set up 15 years ago as a centre of rural reconstruction work. Banasthali Vidyapith is now a fully-fledged residential institution, imparting all round education to girls. Its aim is to make girls active and intelligent citizens as well as good mothers. Based on foundations of Indian culture and nationalism, The Banasthali system of education called 'Panch-Mukhi Shiksh' (or five-fold education), has five distinguished aspects: moral, physical, domestic, fine arts and academic (or literary).

The period of education has been divided into 'Sanskrita' the minimum and compulsory stage of eight years' duration and the higher secondary and college stage for six further years. Various extra-curricular activities are organised. The library contains 20,000 volumes. The aim is to make Banasthali a real centre of Indian culture well suited to the conditions of present day society. The number of students in Vidyapith is well above 415. The hostels provide a cosmopolitan home for girls hailing from all parts of India, and of all castes and classes or calling. They live in a family atmosphere under the motherly supervision of Mrs. Ratan Shastri. The life of inmates is regulated on Gandhian lines. 'Khadi,' including spinning, is compulsory for all who live there. In the field of women's education Banasthali's is a pioneer work. It is yet early to speak of the fruits of this experiment. The workers are proceeding on an untrodden path with open eyes and in the spirit of seekers after truth. They are ready to learn lessons from the past and look forward to a new and happy future with courage and confidence.

THE OBJECTS AND POLICY OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA)

IN 1866, eight years after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, the East India Association was formed with the object of 'the promotion of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally.' This object was steadfastly pursued during the ensuing eighty-one years. The independence of India and Pakistan attained in 1947, while modifying the original conception, has increased the need for strengthening the bonds of friendship and the importance of mutual understanding between the people of Britain and the inhabitants of the countries formerly comprising the Indian Empire—namely, India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. The Association therefore is continuing its work, with the assistance of all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of these countries, by the methods which have proved so helpful in the past, namely :

(1) By lectures on current questions affecting those countries and the publication of the same.

(2) By providing opportunities for the free discussion of important questions affecting India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma.

(3) By promoting friendly contact between the peoples of these countries and of Britain through the medium of social and other gatherings.

(4) Generally by the promulgation of reliable information regarding the countries named.

The Association is essentially non-official in character and has no connection with any political party. It seeks to provide an open platform for the consideration of current problems relating to India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. It welcomes as members all those who are interested in their welfare and progress.

Papers are read and discussed throughout the year, except in the months of August and September. Members are entitled to invite friends to these meetings.



MÜFIDE İLHAN

MERSIN — THE PATTERN OF A SOUTH ANATOLIAN TOWN

By MÜFIDE İLHAN

Mme. İlhan, Mayor of Mersin, is the first Turkish woman to be elected Mayor in Turkey. She visited England recently to attend a Local Government Conference and to study municipal methods in this country. It was on this visit that she met the Editor.

MERSIN—with a population of some 37,000—lies on the south coast of Turkey. It is the chief town of the İçel Province and one of the most important ports on the Mediterranean. Indeed, Mersin was Turkey's only safe port during the second world war and consequently handled a greatly increased volume of goods. Nowadays, the larger part of her trade is with Great Britain. Amongst the goods shipped from her harbour are cereals, cotton, chrome, dried and fresh fruit and vegetables, raw hide, and livestock. In addition the port handles imports of copper, tin, iron and steel, machinery, glass, petroleum, pharmaceutical products, tea, coffee, and textiles:

There is a rich hinterland of varied agricultural and mineral industries, whilst the textile and flour mills, vegetable oil producing plants, soap, nails, and macaroni factories have made Mersin an industrial town as well as a busy port.

The inhabitants mostly spend the warm summers on the plateaux which lie between the coast and the Taurus mountain range. Findik Pinari, one of Mersin's famous summer resorts, is a particularly lovely spot, situated in pine forests and blessed with abundant cold mineral springs. Gözne Plateau is another popular place, for it enjoys a combination of sea, mountains, and plain; and boasts some excellent views. The many orange groves in and around the town make bold splashes of colour in winter and fill the air in spring with the perfume of their fragrant blossoms.

From the point of view of the tourist, Mersin has many attractions. In winter, the moderate climate makes the town a refuge for those who wish to escape the bitter cold of other parts. Apart from the hotels owned by private individuals, the Mersin Municipality is building a modern 54-room hotel to be opened this year. There are five summer and two winter cinemas; a businessman's club situated on the blue Mediterranean offers hospitality and facilities for visitors and its members. In addition to the 100-bed State Hospital, there are several municipal dispensaries and a maternity clinic will shortly be opened.

Local affairs are governed by a Council of twenty-six elected for four years. The Mayor and an executive committee of three are appointed by the Town Council, whose duties include the administration of local public works, sanitation, health, justice, the police, and the veterinary service. Education is provided for by several colleges, a commercial school, two art schools, and ten primary schools. An active group of students from the town itself and from surrounding villages take a lively interest in studying and propagating general culture.

Modern Mersin, which has been developing rapidly in the last seventy or eighty years, was founded on the site of ancient Zephyrium. Excavations at Yömük Tepe, which is just over a mile from the spot where the Mersin river flows into the Mediterranean, have been carried out since 1937 by Professor Garstang of the Liverpool University. He has already uncovered relics of the ancient Greek, Byzantine, and Islamic civilizations, and has shown that the Mersin region was a Hittite centre as early as 1400 B.C.

Nearby is Viran Şehir and the ruins of the old Roman City, Pompeiopolis, built by the famous General Pompey.

The present province of İçel was, in centuries gone by, split up into the mountains and the plains of Cilicia—an area which still abounds in historic riches and important relics of the past. That part of the coast lying between Viran Şehir and Lamas, particularly, possesses interesting remains of old Byzantine castles.

Mersin is indeed fortunate in being able to offer the tourist so much, and in having a wealth of scenic beauty combined with great historic treasures.

EAST PAKISTAN COMES TO LIFE

By A CORRESPONDENT

WHEN IN AUGUST 1947 the sub-continent of India was divided into Pakistan and India the great body of people who in the rapid events at the end of World War II had not been able to keep pace with developments on the sub-continent made haste to ascertain the borders of the two new units of the Commonwealth. A great many found that Pakistan comprised territories in the north with the story of which they were familiar. A thousand miles away, there was the Eastern wing of the new Dominion of which few save former administrators and businessmen, mainly engaged in the jute trade, knew very much.

In the North, and particularly the North-West, there were names redolent of romance and adventure. In East Pakistan there was little of such elements. It was the kind of territory to be glamourized by Miss Ethel M. Dell or by Yeats-Brown of *Bengal Lancer* film and fiction fame. In fact despite the name, Bengal was one area in which one could be sure that there would be no Bengal Lancers except those forming the guard at Government House. Despite these superficial disabilities East Pakistan suffered from no lack of respect in the eyes of the more truly understanding. For at partition great sources of wealth were in the East wing of the country. They remain there at present. Great projects are in hand for increasing the industrial potential of West Pakistan, but the future of East Pakistan is receiving equal attention in this respect.

For a great many people knew that India from the days of Clive until 1947, Bengal was a one-city Province. That city was Calcutta. When partition came along East Pakistan meant the Eastern part of Bengal with certain other areas, and Britons who have known Bengal between the two world wars and before had good reason for wondering about the self-sufficiency of a part of the Province cut off from Calcutta. Calcutta, city of wealth, "City of Dreadful Knights" (a term for the commercial noblemen designed by themselves) being divorced from East Pakistan, it was thought that the Eastern hinterland might be like limbs and trunk without a head—breastplate and greaves without the vizor.

Clearly it was the first task in the stabilization of East Pakistan to establish a centre which would sufficiently fulfill the former functions of Calcutta. That has not yet been done and will take a very long time to do but the objective has been well forwarded. Dacca is not a very impressive but is a sufficient administrative and cultural centre. Economic salvation has centred in the former small port of Chittagong which, with

growing satellites at Chalna and Khulna, has already been improved to an extent which guarantees the handling of enough food to take care of East Pakistan and enough outward cargoes, mainly of jute, which all the world seeks, to guarantee wealth enough for the maintenance and steady improvement of the standard of living in Pakistan's eastern wing.

Jute—"the golden fibre"—has been sold in different directions following difficulties with India over reconciliation of the Pakistan and India rupee ratios. That difficulty has been overcome to some extent by the Indo-Pakistan Trade Agreement, but a more permanent solution is to be found in milling the raw jute in Pakistan itself and recently the first jute mill has been set up. While most of the world requires East Bengal's raw jute and is ready to pay well for it and the agreement with India does something to revive the old marriage of convenience between Calcutta mills and the East Bengal fields, it is obviously the soundest arrangement that Pakistan should manufacture her own agricultural produce as far as possible, and that desirability is being kept in mind in both wings of the country and in all commodities. At present, however, jute is the queen of the crops. East Bengal grows 75 to 85 per cent of world production. There has of course been talk of a possible inroads on that monopoly by synthetic jute but even though the latter might eventually be possible to produce in large quantities it is unlikely that its price could compare with that of the natural fibre. In any case it is useless to look too far ahead in such matters, and after all Britain as a coal-producer, and the major oil-producing countries, are not losing interest in the future productivity because of what atomic power may accomplish a century or half a century ahead.

With its population of about 40,000,000 East Pakistan is a preponderant factor of the whole country. Therefore the well-being of Pakistan as a State must depend largely upon East Bengal and the rest of the East wing of the country being well fed. Given freedom from great natural disasters affecting crops West Pakistan can make up for any food deficiency caused by the densely populated areas in East Bengal. Nevertheless the latter, amply supported by the Central Government is exploring avenues of self-sufficiency in food and in all other economic respects. Before any new scheme was begun its forests were of considerable value and its fisheries positively rich. Initial resources, nevertheless, had to be increased rapidly. East Bengal had to secure its position as found at partition and plan for the future. Making sure of what was already available in the way of consumer commodities was largely a matter of transport.

Reverting to the port of Chittagong, after a rather slow beginning the arrival of materials gave a great spurt in increasing facilities for handling



TOMB OF THE FAMOUS MUSLIM SAINT BAYAZID BOSTANI,
WHICH IS TEN MILES FROM CHITTAGONG, IN TYPICAL
EAST BENGAL SURROUNDINGS

ships and cargo during the past year to eighteen months ; so much so that at present the facilities are more than sufficient to meet the needs of a tonnage reduced by general shortage of shipping. Should it be thought that government assessment of Chittagong's improved capacity might be complacent, it may be noted that a report was recently made on the matter by Mr. Reginald J. Sanger, Cunard-White Star Traffic Representative. He was particularly impressed by the satellite ports of Chalna and Khulna. He found the labour very good and was sanguine as to the ultimate tests of the depths of the harbour bars. Again, Messrs. Turner Morrison estimated that Chittagong itself could achieve a monthly cargo-handling capacity of 200,000 tons. Despatch, the firm said, was prompt. They admired the mechanical aids, especially the five ton cranes, mobile lift trolleys and the trolleys on pneumatic wheels.

East Bengal, however, is not putting all its eggs in one jute bag. It is impossible here to touch on all the industrial ventures that are in progress, let alone all those definitely planned. But mention should be made of the construction, already going on, of Asia's biggest paper mill, 26 miles from Chittagong—a nice set-off against Asia's biggest sugar mill which is at Mardan, in the other part of Pakistan. While the Province is predominantly agricultural, with a long established leavening of highly skilled cottage industry workers, large scale industry has been fairly

started in a modest way, with far more ambitious schemes ahead, and these last holding out infinite promise of expansion as hydro-electric resources are harnessed.

As regards cotton textiles, several new mills have been operating since partition and others, formerly out of action for some years, have been re-commissioned. Progress has been made and is being planned ahead in the sericulture, sugar and salt industry, rubber shoes and other rubber articles, animal products and—of interest to this great tea-drinking country—tea from the districts of Sylhet and Chittagong, where well over 74,000 acres are under tea cultivation, with an annual yield of some 45,000,000 lbs.

Before ending this all too inadequate summary of the products of the Province a few words should be added, although still more inadequate, about the people. First it should be recorded that as happiness may be judged from the average all over the world, and in relation to the somewhat gloomy past history and conditions, the people are happy in mass. The mass is of course the peasantry. For them independence was soon followed by the abolition of the zemindari system (semi-feudal landlordism). In February, 1950 measures were passed which, in the words of the Provincial Chief Minister, was a landmark in the life of the teeming millions and gave "a formal burial to Lord Cornwallis's regulation of 1793, commonly known as the Permanent Settlement of ill-fame." Thus vanished the evils of rack-renting and other oppression. The building up of a real home, more in the way it is understood in western countries, became immediately possible.

That health might properly be associated with happiness schemes were put in hand for re-organizing and expanding the medical services so as to bring them within the reach of every villager. New tuberculosis wards were opened, the Dacca Medical College Hospital was improved, a provincial campaign against tuberculosis was set in motion, cholera was tackled on a new scale, water supply was improved and the whole machinery of curative and preventative medicine generally tightened up. If in the past smiles have not been the chief characteristic of the people of East Bengal the fault has been with man-made conditions and not due to any parsimony of nature. On the contrary the plains of the Province are lush, beautiful, and rewarding to human hands (the picture at a glance, dissociates East Bengal with any uninitiated persons' conception of an arid and bare East). Here in East Bengal is neither desert nor jungle. The sturdy people are sons and daughters of fields and gardens, sea coast and rivers. Given peace, their somewhat low standard of living at present should be raised at a rate as fast or faster than that of any other part of the world's population.

ISRAEL SINCE INDEPENDENCE

By The Hon. EDWIN SAMUEL, CMG.

THE POPULATION OF ISRAEL has doubled in the last three years—an increase unparalleled in any country save wildernesses and little islands. In May, 1948, Israel numbered 750,000 people: today it numbers 1,500,000. Only a small part of this accretion is due to natural increase: nearly all of it is due to a tidal wave of immigration. By an influx of 17,000 Jews each month on the average, the independent Government of Israel does every four weeks what it took the Mandatory Government of Palestine a year to achieve. There is now no political limitation on Jewish immigration, and a far bolder policy.

The present tidal wave has been preceded by other smaller waves—each primarily from a different group of countries. In the thirty years before World War I there was a seepage of Russian Jews: in 1925 a sudden irruption from Poland: from 1933 till World War II, an escape from Germany. Now, most of the immigrants come from the Balkans and the Middle East.

On arrival by boat and plane, they stay briefly in a reception camp. The younger men go into the Israel army: many of the much needed technicians—doctors, engineers, teachers, nurses—go off to residential colleges for a five months' intensive course in Hebrew. Many craftsmen and small traders find themselves niches in the interstices of the economic machine with no outside aid. They live in huge huddled and tented camps on the outskirts of the cities until they can find housing. The deserted old Arab quarters are full to overflowing with new Jewish immigrants: whole new Jewish quarters are being built. A building boom is in full flower and, incredible though it may seem with such a voluminous immigration, there is no unemployment.

Four-fifths of the immigrants are absorbed in the towns—many in the new factories that are springing up as a result of capital invested from abroad. The rest go on the land. (This pattern of distribution is similar to that of an industrial and commercial country such as Great Britain, and not of an agricultural country, such as Bulgaria). Some immigrants work as hired labour, mostly in the orange groves. Others are settled as small-holders in new villages which they themselves help to build, while living in temporary huts on the site itself. On the average, two new villages are started each week. After World War I there were only seventy Jewish villages in the whole of Palestine: now there are over 700. Many of them are fully socialised, farming the land in common and feeding in airy dining halls at communal expense.

There is still plenty of room for new villages, especially in the arid region of the south. All that it needs is water for irrigation, now being brought from further north. The roads are filled with heavy lorries carrying twenty-four and thirty inch water pipes, building materials for new villages, immigrants' baggage. It is as if a beach head had been established overnight and men and supplies were being rushed up to the battle area—the battle with the desert.

The southern plains are not only thirsty for water but also for capital. Hundreds of millions of dollars and pounds sterling are being sunk in this enterprise, some from savings in Israel, some from private sources abroad. But, in the main, the capital flows in from loans received largely in the United States and from the new bond issue there.

This enormous development imposes great stresses on the young Government of Israel. But although it is only three years old, it has successfully stood the strain. The mainspring of the new State is its parliament—the Knesset. This is a single chamber, which demonstrates the self-confidence of Israel's political leaders: the Presidency has practically no power, even though the post is held by Dr. Weizmann, a man of international stature. The Knesset has 120 members, divided among a multiplicity of parties (thanks, in part, to proportional representation to which Zionists have always been wedded, with a greater eye for justice than for effectiveness). No party has an absolute majority, and the Government till now has been a coalition based on the moderate socialist party and the clerical parties, with the left wing socialists and the right wing parties in opposition.

The judiciary shows a fine sense of independence, while the army is kept well in hand by the Cabinet. This is a welcome advance on the situation in many new States where the army dominates the Cabinet and the Cabinet dominates the judges.

The Executive consists of thirteen Ministries in which are consolidated the forty departments of the former Mandatory Government—another welcome advance. There are some 20,000 state officials—including 3,500 hardworked and efficient police. The civil service as a whole works extremely hard, and is by no means overstaffed for the constantly increasing range of duties imposed on it by the Knesset and by the rapid growth of population. The officials are honest and patriotic. They are learning the difference between their old loyalty to a cause and their new loyalty to a State. Many are inexperienced in the techniques of government; but their enthusiasm is boundless and they are rapidly making good their deficiencies. In a few years, Israel should have the best administration in the Middle East, with the possible exception of the Sudan.

Local government is in the hands of elected urban municipal councils and elected village councils or—in the smaller villages—committees. The former Turkish and British system of central government control of districts through Districts Officers is being replaced by control through elected rural district councils with wide powers.

There have been few changes, however, since Mandatory days in the system of public utilities. The railways—which have never been a paying proposition in such a tiny country—are still a government department. The electricity supply is still in the hands of two concessionary companies. One is in Jerusalem and is no longer profitable now that the city is divided between Israel and Jordan. The other is for the whole of the rest of the country and is comparatively prosperous. The urban motor bus services as well as the inter-urban motor coach services are operated by co-operatives. The drivers are themselves the owners—a novel arrangement which does not give public satisfaction. It is probable that, in time, the urban services will be acquired by the municipalities and the inter-urban services nationalised.

The financing of the colonisation of Israel with new immigrants is largely in the hands of the World Zionist Organisation which raises annually gigantic sums for this purpose abroad, mainly in the United States. The current cost of the civil and military services are borne by the Government of Israel, largely from taxation. All figures expressed in Israel currency are misleading, owing to inflation. There was considerable inflation in Palestine during World War II even when the Palestine pound was tied to sterling. Since Palestine was summarily ejected from the sterling area towards the end of the Mandate, in 1947, inflation has grown worse. This is due in part to a rapid increase of population unaccompanied by an equally rapid increase of production ; to the burden of armaments to meet the constant Arab threat ; to the over-issue of Treasury bonds ; and to the abandonment of the usual conservative methods of state finance under the pressure of events—again largely immigration. As a result of inflation, all prices quoted in Israel currency must be divided by three in order to get a fair picture in sterling.

The annual State budget (apart from a supplementary defence budget—still kept secret) is now 60,000,000 Israel pounds. The main single sources of taxation are customs and excise (28 per cent) and income tax (25 per cent). The main items of expenditure are public works and the police (5 per cent each), the education and health services (7 per cent each), and the defence ministry (10 per cent, in addition to the supplementary defence budget).

Taxation in Israel is heavy, but still not heavy enough to prevent further inflation. The new citizens have still much to learn about financial self-sacrifice for the common good. Nevertheless, they are willing to sacrifice a great deal in order to keep the gates of Israel open to Jews fleeing from economic or political disabilities—or both—in many foreign countries.

In spite of the enormous pressures caused by this rapid immigration, Israel is slowly making good. She has still a desperate shortage of capital and of technical experts. She is hampered by the Arab boycott on trade between Israel and all neighbouring states, and the even more costly threat of a 'second round.' But if she can have peace—both in the Middle East and universally—she will shake down well. Her population will rise to two million; the inevitable time lag in increased production will be overcome. She will become one of the manufacturing centres for all Western Asia.

COTTON CULTIVATION IN MODERN EGYPT*

By MOHAMMED MOHAMMED EL-WAKIL

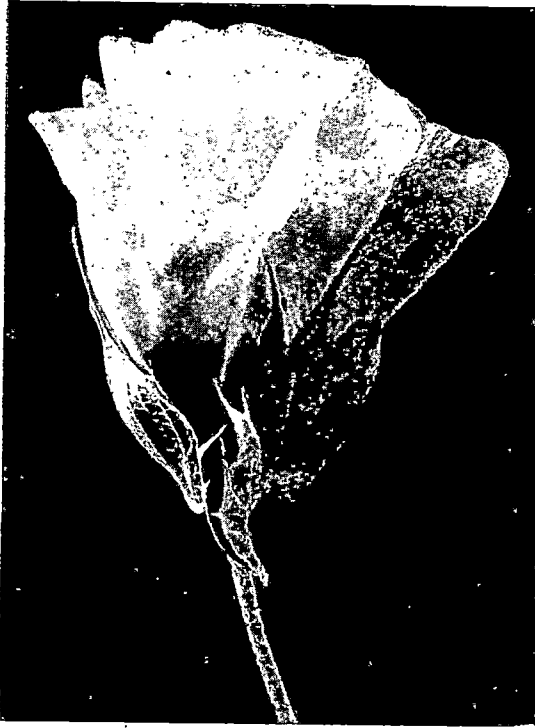
ALTHOUGH there is a great difference of opinion as to when cotton was first cultivated in Egypt, we may safely say that it was more or less regularly cultivated about the end of the eighteenth century, and that we owe to the savants of the French Expedition the first written records regarding the crop. Three types of cotton plant existed in Egypt: (1) the annual type that grew in the Delta, particularly near Samannud and Mehalla al-Kubra; (2) the perennial type which grew in Upper Egypt; and (3) the vine-like or garden type. After the departure of the French, cotton cultivation deteriorated rapidly and was in danger of being wiped out altogether had it not been for the efforts of Mohammed Ali the Great. Mohammed Ali took keen interest in cotton and spared no pains to expand and develop its cultivation. One of his advisers, M. Jumel, found by accident in the garden of an Egyptian official, Maho Bey al-Orfali, a cotton shrub which the latter had brought with him from the Sudan when he was Governor there. M. Jumel was amazed at the length, fineness, lustre and white colour of its fibre. When Mohammed Ali saw the sample in 1820 he realised the great possibilities of such a crop. He ordered the cotton to be grown on a large scale, and encouraged its cultivation by all

* Reprinted by courtesy of the Egyptian Education Bureau London, from Bulletin No. 53.



available means. In 1821, the total output was 2,000 bales, 944 quintals of which were sold to Marseilles. The encouragement given by Mohammed Ali to cotton cultivation helped it to extend throughout the Delta, and Egyptian cotton competed favourably with Indian and American cotton in the spinning mills of England and France. Consequently the acreage under wheat decreased, a change which had a determining influence on the economic life and the financial position of the country. The inhabitants grew more and more prosperous, and cotton became in course of time the backbone of Egypt's wealth. The acreage under cotton soon rose from 2 per cent of the total cultivated land to 35 per cent and the new cotton of M. Jumel soon supplanted the coarse and short-staple type of former days. The land on which this latter type was grown gradually diminished in area until Mohammed Ali, shortly after 1832, prohibited its cultivation altogether.

But Mohammed Ali's efforts went still further. He began to import better seed from abroad to improve the Egyptian strains, encouraged in so doing by the increasing demand of foreign factories for the new fine and long-staple varieties. Seeds from Nanking and Brazil, then from



Sea Island and New Orleans were imported, and foreign experts were employed for the purpose of improving the methods of cultivation in the country.

By crossing Jumel's cotton with Sea Island and Brazilian types, a number of Egyptian strains, which later were well known for their superior qualities in the world's market, were raised. In 1860 appeared "Ashmuni," a new strain of Jumel's, which soon ousted its parent type and rapidly spread all over Upper as well as Lower Egypt.

In 1882 "Mitafifi" was grown in Lower Egypt and gradually replaced Ashmuni and became the most widely cultivated variety in that part of the country. It raised the market value of Egyptian cotton as a whole for it was a long staple variety with a staple length varying from 33 to 35 mm. and was superior to the old varieties in durability, lustre and extreme fineness. Besides this, were grown Qallini, a Sea Island strain, and Bamia in very small quantities.

Ashmuni survived in Upper-Egypt and retained its original characteristics until 1917 when Zagora seeds began to replace it, finally over-running the whole region ; this was the parent of the present Ashmuni

strain, which is nothing but the old Zagora acclimatised in Upper Egypt.

From Mitafifi were raised in 1905 Nubari of Lower Egypt with a staple-length of 34 mm. and in 1906 Assili and Mitafifi ; Nahda was afterwards raised by the Ministry of Agriculture from the same variety. These are all known as the brown cotton group and formerly represented Egyptian cotton, having all its intrinsic properties; but they all deteriorated rapidly. Then Maarad, with a staple length varying from 38 to 41 mm., was raised from American Pima by the Royal Agricultural Society in 1918.

The white group was probably raised from Zafiri, which was bred by selection from the above-mentioned Qallini ; among the strains were Abbassi, Theodori, Casulli, Fathi and several others. Yannovitch, a creamy-coloured variety with a staple length of 35 mm., belonged to the white group. It was raised in 1894 by selection from Qallini and was probably a hybrid between it and Afifi. It remained for some time the best type of Egyptian cotton, until it was ousted by Sakel.

It is worth noting that the appearance of all these varieties, with the exception of Nahda and Maarad, was quite accidental ; it was the work of nature and not the result of systematic scientific research.

In 1906 a Greek, M. Sakellarides, found by accident in a Yannovitch cotton field a new natural strain, which he called after his own name, and did all he could to propagate its growth. He was at the outset confronted by innumerable obstacles and faced with strong opposition from foreign spinners, but these difficulties were soon overcome owing to the superior qualities of the new strain, and its success was finally ensured. Before long it was in great demand by foreign spinners for use in the finest and most luxurious fabrics ; it enjoyed a reputation unparalleled by any other type of cotton in the world. The aggregate monetary profit made by Egypt by cultivating this type has been estimated by some at more than £E.150 million and even higher estimates are on record. It was this type which drew the attention of Egyptian cultivators to the production of the white-group varieties instead of the brown-group types previously referred to. The staple length of Sakel varied from 38 to 40 mm. and the fibre was distinguished by its durability, regularity, fineness and lustre. After its discovery, cultivation gradually extended until it was grown in almost every part of Lower Egypt ; for whereas in 1911 the acreage under Sakel was only 119,636 feddans, it reached 1,358,165 feddans in 1922. Then it began to deteriorate, both agriculturally and economically, for various reasons until the area under Sakel in 1943-1944 dwindled to 3,734 feddans, and finally it disappeared altogether.

Other varieties soon followed, among these being Pilion, Fuadi and Giza 7. The last named was raised by the Ministry of Agriculture and

made its first appearance on the market in 1930. Its breeding does credit to the Ministry of Agriculture, for it is distinguished by its immunity from cotton wilt, its high yield per acre, in addition to other characteristics favoured by the cotton textile industry, having an average staple length of 35 mm. Sakha 4, a Sakel strain, was also raised by the Ministry of Agriculture, making its first appearance on the market in 1930. Its average staple length is between 38 and 39 mm., but it is not as strong as Sakel. As it was not a great success the cultivation of Sakha 4 was soon given up altogether.

Giza 12 was another variety bred by the Ministry of Agriculture, with a staple length of 35 mm. but, like Sakha, it was unsuccessful. This was followed by Giza 29, now known as Karnak, whose staple length varies from 30 to 40 mm. Owing to its superior qualities, both agriculturally and economically, it has replaced Sakel in extensive cultivation and world-wide reputation, for it is exactly like Sakel before the latter deteriorated. Malaki was also bred by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1936, and the Amon in 1941. The latter is one of the highest types of cotton known in the world at present; it is superior to Sakel in its spinning properties, but owing to a small yield, it is not in great favour with farmers; and to offset this the price is disproportionately high. In 1940 the Ministry of Agriculture produced Menufi with a staple length of about 34 mm., which has proved superior to Giza 7.

Giza 30 was raised by the Ministry in 1941. It has a staple length of about 34 mm.; it is also strong and possesses superior industrial properties. Almost all the cotton varieties recorded above have been raised and propagated by the Botanical Section of the Ministry of Agriculture, a fact which does great credit to that department.

With regard to the total output of cotton, as has been mentioned before, this was quite insignificant before 1821. In that year, which may be regarded as the beginning of the new era of modern cotton cultivation in Egypt, the total output was about 9,000 kantars. In 1823 it rose to 218,000. Then it fluctuated between 150,000 and 200,000 kantars until the middle of the nineteenth century, after which it rose to 500,000 kantars. Then the American Civil War of the sixties broke out and cotton prices rose to the unprecedented level of fifty-two dollars. This gave a great impetus to the expansion of cotton cultivation in Egypt, and the output of cotton rose steadily from 596,000 kantars in 1861 to 1,183,000 kantars in 1863, to 2,140,000 in 1865; then to 3 million kantars in 1876 and to over 4 million in 1890. In 1892 it exceeded 5 million and in 1897 it was more than 6 million. Between 1910 and 1914 the average output was 7,301,000. In 1937 the all-time maximum output of 11,09,000 was reached. Cotton production in Egypt has always been guided by two

aims ; the improvement of the quality of the product, and an increase in quantity.

With regard to the former objective, we may safely say that with the exception of the varieties raised during the reign of Mohammed Ali Pasha, who did his best to obtain high-quality strains, and those that have been raised between 1930 and the present day, all other Egyptian varieties enumerated above emerged by chance, and were not the result of systematic scientific work. This is due to the fact that Egyptian cotton is a hybrid from a number of types, and thus it is only natural that changes should take place in the crop from time to time, and that some of the qualities of the parent stock should predominate despite the new characteristics brought about by the Egyptian soil and climate. To this we may add that until quite recently there was no legislation prohibiting the mixture of different varieties. But when the reputation of Egyptian cotton was at stake the Government took steps, both by legislation and by executive measures, to remedy the state of affairs. Various measures were taken prohibiting the mixture of different varieties, regulating the methods of breeding new strains, and controlling the propagation of new seeds ; these culminated in Law 51 of 1934, which forbade the mixing of different varieties of cotton seed, and thus put an end to complaints of mixing by spinners.

It is worth mentioning that the new varieties now dominating the cotton field and market did not come about by accident. On the contrary, they were the result of deliberate technical research and careful scientific experiment undertaken by the various technical sections of the Ministry of Agriculture.

THE NEW ECONOMIC STATUS OF INDO-CHINA BY A CORRESPONDENT

THE INDEPENDENCE of the Associated States of Indo-china within the framework of the French Union gives rise to a number of very intricate economic problems. On the one hand, it is necessary to avoid violently disrupting the unity of the Indo-chinese economy. On the other hand, each of the Associated States—Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos—is tempted to shape its economy along individualistic lines, in order to direct it in accordance with its own interests. Finally, the economy of Indo-china has to be fitted into the general pattern of the economic structure of the French Union.

It will be seen that, to a certain extent, circumstances impose contradictory demands. How could a system be devised which would be flexible enough to preserve the necessary balance? The following lines are an attempt to describe how the difficulty is being overcome. Generally speaking, it may be said that the problem consists in safeguarding the sovereignty of the Associated States, whilst ensuring that their interests are in keeping with those of the other members of the French Union. Accordingly, a number of bodies have been created for the purpose of evolving a common policy.

Let us consider, first of all, the important subject of foreign trade. Formerly, decisions rested with the Federal authorities. Hence-forward, programs of imports and exports, the granting of licences, will be the responsibility of the national states concerned, which are also empowered to negotiate separate trade agreements with foreign countries.

A certain measure of co-ordination must, however, be preserved between the economies of the three Associated States. All important decisions relating to import programmes will be taken by an inter-governmental conference, upon the advice of a study group assisted by experts.

The economy of Indo-China must, also, as already stated, be harmonised with that of the other sections of the French Union. To achieve this, French representatives will take part in the work of the foreign trade study group and in that of the inter-governmental conference. The French representatives will be entitled to vote on decisions liable to have repercussions on the economy of the French Union as a whole. On the other hand, France has undertaken to cover any shortage of foreign currency in connection with import programmes approved by her.

As regards trade negotiations, the Associated States will be able to negotiate separate agreements, or take advantage of agreements negotiated by France, when they are unable to pay for their imports by corresponding exports.

In addition, it has been agreed that French plans relating to trade agreements, which affect the economy of the Associated States, will be submitted to the High Council of the French Union. Finally, a conference of the members of the French Union will be convened periodically, to decide upon a common policy.

The subject of foreign trade has been chosen as an example. It would be tedious here to analyse in detail the provisions made regarding exchange control or customs tariffs. The difficulties were similar, and they have been solved along the same lines. The transfer of the department of foreign trade took place on the 15th February, 1951, and that of the exchange control and customs services is now in course of completion.

The implementation of the economic concepts evolved at the Pau Conference (June-November, 1950) is too recent to allow any judging of its results. One may say, however, that the practical harmonisation of the economies in question will depend largely upon a close understanding between the governments concerned. Decisions taken in common must be unanimous, which means that each member has the right of veto. If the exercise of this right is not tempered with a wide understanding of the common interest, there is a risk that the Indo-china States may slide towards a kind of economic ségrégation.

However, responsible men in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos are aware of the need for a large degree of cohesion. They gave evidence of this when they agreed, at Pau, to the setting up of monetary and customs unions. The political independence of the Indo-chinese States can and must be conciliated with their participation in an economic unit, vast enough to prosper in the modern world.

* * *

To complete this rather abstract account of the guiding principles of Indo-china's new economic status, a few facts concerning her commercial exchanges with foreign countries are given herewith. Rice and rubber, as is known, are Indo-china's chief exports. In 1950, Indo-china exported 52,876 tons of rubber (against 41,538 in 1949 and 58,000 in 1938), and 134,400 tons of rice (against 154,200 in 1949 and 1,054,000 in 1938). But on the whole, there is a deficit in the balance of trade, the total value of the exports attaining barely 30 per cent of the total imports.

France supplies the greater part of Indo-china's imports (76 per cent of the total value). Then come the United States (9 per cent), the other countries of the French Union (3.9 per cent), China and Indonesia (each supplying 2.6 per cent) and finally, India and Pakistan.

As regards exports, 39.5 per cent go to France, 20.2 per cent to the United States, 12.2 per cent to Hong Kong, 10.3 per cent to the other countries of the French Union, etc.

These figures reveal clearly to what extent the economy of Indo-china is linked with that of France, and, in present circumstances especially, how much she still needs French support.

SCIENCE IN MEDIEVAL PERSIA

By H. J. J. WINTER, PhD, MRAS

THE HISTORY of science in medieval Persia may be briefly described in the time at my disposal by regarding it from two aspects, namely, of places and events, and of men and mind. I shall therefore begin by tracing the broad intellectual developments through Jūndīshāpūr, Baghdad and Marāgha as they occurred in the course of a millenium of medieval history, and shall end by selecting three individuals whose names are famous—Al-Bīrūnī, ‘Umar Khayyām and Ibn Sīnā, the millenary of the last of these being celebrated in Persia in the coming year. I shall confine myself to the purely scientific activities of these three men, who rank among the greatest geniuses of all time.

Jūndīshāpūr, between Dizful and Shushtar, was founded by the Sasanian Emperor Shāpūr I. It became the greatest cultural centre of its day. The Nestorians, after their expulsion from Edessa in 489, and the Neoplatonists, on the closing of the schools of learning in Athens some forty years later, brought to the city the legacy of Greek science. Incidentally, Nestorian diffusion is an important factor in the history of science, and one which has still to be evaluated; there were Nestorian bishoprics in Merv and Herat in the fifth century, and much evidence of penetration through Turkestan and as far as Peking, has been collected. Jūndīshāpūr reached its eminence under Nūshīrwan (531-579) when there was an enlightened exchange and fusion of ideas from both East and West. The Sasanian period in Persia (224-651) corresponds closely with the golden age of the Guptas in India (320-650) and it was to India that Nūshīrwan sent his personal physician Burzūya to gain medical knowledge. In passing we may also note that Burzūya brought to Persia the game of chess and the *Pañca-tantra*, which are also known as the *Fables of Bidpāi* (Arabic: *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*). So to Jūndīshāpūr came both Greek and Hindu medicine, the former through the medieval school of Edessa and the latter by contact with the Hindu tradition of Ātreya. The writings collected were translated into Pahlavī. It was a period of great literature which provided the material from which Firdawsī later weaved his famous *Shāhnāma*. Nūshīrwan was acquainted with some of the works of Plato and Aristotle; amongst those existing in Pahlavī translation was, according to Agathāas, the *Timaeos* of Plato, which expounds the doctrine of macrocosm and microcosm. Nūshīrwan also had at his court for about a year the Greek physician Tribunus, as we know from the writings of Procopius. A delightful Mughal miniature, by the artist Anant, depicting Nūshīrwan as a lover of learning, is to be

found in the British Museum Manuscript "Additional 18, 579," which is a version of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* by Ḥusain bin 'Alī ul-Vā'iz Kāshifī and is dated A.H. 1019 (1610/11).

Since the sixth century B.C. the Hindus had maintained a wonderful tradition in both medicine and surgery. In the time of the Buddha, so the Jātakas tell us, there were two great centres of learning Kāśī or Benares, and Takṣaśīla or Taxila. The surgeon Suśruta practised at Kāśī and the physician Ātreya at Takṣaśilā. In the Sanskrit literature attributed to Suśruta are descriptions of operations for the removal of hernia and of cataract and the first account of plastic surgery. The medical tradition of Ātreya was maintained by his pupil Agniveśa, and continued by the Kashmirian physician Caraka of the second century A.D. But along with Hindu medical knowledge one would expect also a transmission, towards the West, of other information of a scientific character, and perhaps the so-called Hindu numerals reached Persia in the sixth or seventh century. I say "perhaps," because the origin and transmission of the nine numerals and zero and the evolution of the decimal system is a complex and debatable question. We do know, however, that these numerals were familiar to Severus Sabokht, Bishop of Qinnēsīn, in a Syrian monastery on the upper Euphrates in 662. But we shall return to this question presently.

The history of Jūndīshāpūr from the scientific angle has yet to be written, and it will be a difficult task. The city was well planned, as we learn from "the champion horseman of the hippodrome of sagacity," one Ḥamza-i-Isfahānī of the tenth century A.D. :— . . . "the plan of this city was after the fashion of a chess-board ; it was intersected by eight times eight streets." Greek philosophy and mathematics became known in Jūndīshāpūr through such men as Damascios, Simplicios, and Priscianos, who came to the court of Nūshīrwān on the closing of the Academy at Athens. Syrian translators, such as the Monophysite, Sergios of Resaina, who made Syriac versions of Greek scientific works, also played their parts. Jūndīshāpūr was finally eclipsed by Baghdad, but the two existed together until the beginning of the eleventh century, the former being little affected by the Muslim conquests ; in fact, the great importance of Jūndīshāpūr as a medical centre was realized by the Arabs, and the Umayyad caliphs of Damascus drew their medical advisers from that city. The practice was continued by the 'Abbāsids. Al-Manṣūr called to Baghdad around 765 (just after its foundation) the Nestorian physician Ibn Bakhtyashū', who controlled the hospital at Jūndīshāpūr, and although he remained in Baghdad only five years, his pupils and descendants carried on the work. His grandson, Jibrīl ibn Bakhtyashū', the most famous member of this medical family, became physician to

Harūn al-Rashīd and to al-Ma'mūn. Jūndīshāpūr had many eminent Christian physicians, who wrote in Syriac and Arabic, amongst them the teacher of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq, Ibn Māsawaih, whose systematic treatise on ophthalmology is the earliest Arabic work extant on this subject.

Some idea of the state of science at Baghdad during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (813-833) may be gathered from Job of Edessa's *Book of Treasures*, the Syriac text of which was translated by the late Dr. Mingana. It is an encyclopædia of the philosophical and natural sciences as taught at Baghdad about A.D. 817, and undoubtedly tells us also a good deal about Jūndīshāpūr which was then actively influencing Muslim scientific thought. Job of Edessa (Ayyūb ar-Ruhāwī) probably lived between 760 and 835, and was, at any rate for the latter part of his life, a member of the Nestorian Church. According to the *Fihrist al-'ulūm* of al-Nadīm and on the authority of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq, he was a translator of Greek works into Syriac. But not only did he translate thirty-six medical books of Galen : he also wrote, in Syriac, works *On the Causes of Fever*, *On Canine Hydrophobia*, and on other subjects. The only two works extant are the *Book of Treasures*, and the *Canine Hydrophobia*. In medical studies Baghdad, following the tradition of Jūndīshāpūr, synthesized the knowledge of Hippocrates, Galen, and Dioscorides with that of the Hindus, as is seen from the *Firdaus al-ḥikma* written in 850 by 'Alī al-Ṭabarī, teacher of al-Rāzī. This work summarized Hindu medicine and made reference to Suśruta, Caraka, and the second Vāgbhaṭa.

The science of the *Book of Treasures* is based primarily upon Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates, Caraka and Suśruta, and earlier Syriac and Pahlavī authors, though it exhibits original deductions by the writer, who was an eminent physician. The influence of Aristotle, however, is paramount ; and there is clear evidence of the material to be found in his *Meteorologica*, *Physica*, *De Mundo*, *De Anima* and other treatises. The original departure made by Job of Edessa was an extension of the Four Element Theory of the Greeks : he considered that the universe was formed of two " essences," one of these being a *substratum* peculiar to each *individual* object, such that when the object disintegrates completely and loses its original identity, this essence dissolves into the second essence. The second or *universal* essence is that of the Four-Element Theory, where heat, cold, humidity and dryness are associated with earth, air, fire and water in the composition of the world. Thus the so-called physical properties of an object, such as colour, size, etc. are accidents, and disappear, with identity, when the first essence is dissolved in the universal. The Theory was used to explain the origin of the genera and species of living creatures from the elements, there being a fixity of species but a variation of individuals within a species due to the

influence of nutrition and climate :—" Genera and species are always and invariably the very same, whilst individuals may or may not be alike." Lower forms of life were supposed to be due to spontaneous generation through the action of the elements. The minerals of the earth are explained as in the original Greek Theory, by differing proportions of the simple elements heat, cold, dryness and humidity ; and the structure of the universe is of successive concentric layers of the compound elements earth, water, air and fire in that order, as in the geocentric system of Aristotle. In order to explain the human body our author supplements the Four Elements by the Four Humours—Red bile, black bile, blood, and phlegm—which derive from Hippocrates.

There are two features in the physics of Job of Edessa which are particularly interesting, the explanation of vision, and the theory of the nature of sound. In the former, Job of Edessa is inclined to follow Euclid and Ptolemy, who had imagined that " rays " emanated from the eye itself ; he stated that " the light of the sun shines on the eye " and " causes a reflection in it of the outside objects and forms. The eye sees these from a distance, and draws their image to itself " " Thus in it the perceiving and bright power of the soul is united with the light of the sun, and this light of the sun is carried by it till it reaches the reflected bodies ; and it (the soul) then perceives their shapes and colours, and draws them first to the eyes from the outside, and then to the imagination from the inside." This explanation is cleverly adapted to account for persistence of vision after the eyes are closed. Whereas Job of Edessa failed to extricate himself completely from the Greek notion that some " mechanism " came out of the eye in order that it might perceive, both Ibn Sīnā and al-Bīrūnī, of whom we shall speak presently, had arrived at the modern theory of emission of light from the luminous source or from a secondary (reflecting) source. On the other hand, Job of Edessa goes straight to the correct definition of sound and describes it concisely as a " movement " or vibration : " Indeed when sound occurs, it is the air which carries it and brings it to the hearing organ."

A most interesting reference is made in the *Book of Treasures* to the system of numeration, the so-called Hindu numerals being then well-known in Baghdad. According to Job of Edessa the numbering process proceeds in cycles between one and nine, the cipher or zero (*Sifr*, emptiness) having no numerical value of itself, but giving value by its linking with another number. Thus the cipher is a circular link between one and nine and is made by linking the forefinger and thumb together.

I do not intend to dwell upon the Arabic science of Baghdad because a good deal has been written about it, and I am here considering Baghdad as a link; through the Persian 'Abbāsids, in an intellectual chain ; I am

more interested at present in what happened before and after its supremacy as a cultural focus, namely, the scientific activities of Sasanian times and of the Mongol dominion of Hūlāgū and his successors. But before going on to Persian science under the rule of the Mongols, I call your attention, for the sake of chronological order, to the subject of the latter half of this lecture, that is, to the writings of three men, who, though flourishing at the time of Baghdad's eminence, do not appear to have had any connexion with that city, and flourished in the lands to the north and north-east, who were, in fact, essentially Persian in character and outlook. That they wrote most of their scientific treatises in Arabic is understandable—it had become traditional Muslim practice and the language was admirable for that purpose. These three men, Abū Raihān al-Bīrūnī (973–1048) who is noted for his *Ta'rikh al-Hind*, Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā (980–1037) author of the great *Qānūn*, and 'Umar Khayyām (perhaps 1038–1124) the astronomer-poet, made between them outstanding contributions to knowledge in almost all the sciences.

Baghdad was devastated, first by Hūlāgū in 1258 and again by Tīmūr Lang in 1401. In spite of the fact, as Professor Sarton has stated, that of the Muslim books listed in the *Fihrist al-'ulūm* only one work in a thousand remains with us, the Mongols certainly collected many treatises and amassed a great collection, said (probably inaccurately) to have been 400,000 volumes, at Mārāgha. It was at Mārāgha that Hūlāgū set up the famous astronomical observatory under the direction of Nasīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, as we know from the account in the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* written by Rashīd al-Dīn, who was physician to Hūlāgū's successor, Abāqā Khān. Under Abāqā Khān were completed c.1272 the Zīj-i-Il-khānī, the famous astronomical tables begun some twelve years earlier on the order of Hūlāgū. These tables were compiled from new observations and from the previous knowledge of Hipparchos, Ptolemy, the astronomers under al-Ma'mūn, al-Battānī, Ibn Yūnus who completed the Hakīmite Tables in Cairo in A.D. 1007, and Ibn al-A'lam of Baghdad, and they were destined to be widely used in the East, even after the publication of the Samarqand Tables completed in 1437 for Ulūgh Beg, a grandson of Tīmūr Lang.

Both the Il-khānian and Samarqand Tables influenced European astronomy through John Greaves, Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, who made available Latin versions of portions of them in the middle of the seventeenth century. To Mārāgha came mathematicians and astronomers from widely-separated cities in Islām, and amongst Nasīr al-Dīn's assistants were al-'Urdī from Damascus, Fakhr al-Dīn from Mūṣul, al-Khalāṭī from Tiflīs, Najm al-Dīn Dabīrān from Qazvīn, and al-Shaibānī (Ibn al-Fūṭī) from Baghdad; whilst

Abū'l-Faraj (Barhebraeus), primate of the Eastern Jacobites, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Maghribī al-Andalusī, the astronomer from Western Islām, and Chinese scholars, such as Fu Meng-chi, said to have been sent by Hūlāgū, all paid visits of considerable duration. Muḥyī al-Dīn wrote an important book, dealing with the chronology and calendar of the Chinese and Uighurs, entitled *Risālat al-Khiṭā' wa'l-Ighūr*, which tends to substantiate the view that Chinese astronomers came to Marāgha. We do know that at least one Persian astronomer visited China.

This aspect of Sino-Persian collaboration is of added interest because we do not know much about it as yet, and I intend to dwell on it for few moments. Though the Mongol supremacy was disastrous for Baghdad it facilitated caravan traffic and the transmission of ideas between Eastern and Western Asia, and no doubt the intellectual, like the commercial traffic, was two-way. Thus the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Central Asia form a unique phase in the history of science. Three names stand out prominently, those of 'Īsā the Mongol (Ai-hsieh), Jamāl al-Dīn (Cha-ma-li-Ting), and Kuo Shou-Ching. all emphasize the connexion between the observatory of Marāgha and that of Khānbaliq established by Hūlāgū's brother, Kublai Khān. Both brothers, like their grandfather Chingiz Khān, were sensitive to culture and were in contact with learned men of many races. Chingiz Khān, for instance, a few years before his death in 1227, had employed Persian secretaries. In his turn, Kublai, on hearing of the Marāgha observatory, wished to emulate his brother, with whom he was on friendly terms, and a Persian astronomer, our Jamāl al-Dīn, was sent from Marāgha to Kublai's new capital Khānbaliq. Jamāl al-Dīn actually left soon after the death of Hūlāgū and reached the Yüan capital in 1267, when he was immediately ordered to reform the calendar. He took with him, according to the book Yüan Shih, drawings or models of seven Persian astronomical instruments, and Willy Hartner, of the Institute for the History of Science, University of Frankfurt, thinks that an existing armillary sphere, constructed by Kuo Shou-Ching and dated 1279, was designed on the basis of one of Jamāl al-Dīn's models. We are fortunate in possessing not only this instrument used by Kuo Shou-Ching but another of the same date, both of which are preserved at the Purple Mountain at Nanking, and we may still gaze upon the observatory of Khānbaliq which is at the south-east corner of the Tartar city-wall at Peking. These two instruments still retain, however, the Mongol divisions of $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees in the circle, with 100 minutes per degree, and 100 seconds per minute; and after Kuo Shou-Ching, who probably also introduced Muslim spherical trigonometry into China, the Islamic scientific influence seems to have

waned. It is very interesting to meditate sometimes upon the transmission of scientific knowledge through the vicissitudes of history, and there are several remarkable specific instances, including this present one of Muslim observational technique in astronomy. From its Muslim source it spread, in one direction westwards to European astronomers, who learned of it through the *Libros del saber de astronomía* of Alfonso X. of León and Castile, a collection of translations from the Arabic edited c.1276 and in the other direction through Persia, and eastwards to China, where its influence was limited; so much so, that when the Jesuits, such as Father Ricci, brought astronomical knowledge to China in the early years of the seventeenth century, they merely offered again, after a long détour, what had been known under the Yüan Dynasty over four centuries earlier.

The observatory at Marāgha was noted for the exquisite workmanship of its instruments, which were constructed in its workshops under the supervision of al-'Urdī, the Syrian astronomer, engineer, and architect, and an incomplete treatise exists, probably written by him, which tells us about eleven of them. Later on, al-'Urdī's two sons joined him in the work, and the staff of the observatory was further increased by three sons of the director, Nasīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, two of whom succeeded him in the office; but after the death of Hūlāgū in 1265 the influence of the observatory declined and it passed into oblivion. Like its successor of a century and a half later, at Samarqand, it flourished under the hand of enlightened patronage, but when that was removed, as in the case of the assassination of Ulūgh Beg, the objective pursuit of scientific truth was forgotten by the successors in the royal line, whose interests wandered in other fields. Of the writings of al-Tūsī I will say only a few words. They were very extensive and include at least 63 treatises and translations, apart from the *Il-khānīan* Tables. He compiled and edited a great collection of Arabic versions of the Greek writings due to Aristarchos, Euclid, Apollonios, Archimedes, Ptolemy and others. To this collection were added original treatises by Arabic writers and by himself, and the whole became known as the *Kitāb al-mutawassīāt*. Together with the *Elements* of Euclid and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy it formed the basis of Muslim mathematical thought. This basis was essentially geometrical or Euclidean; though the Muslim world knew about the algebra of the Hindus, its mathematicians in general preferred pictorial representation and concrete instances rather than symbolic methods. For example, they ignored negative solutions to equations, and in their study of optics also their interpretations, with the notable and brilliant exception of those of Ibn al-Haitham, were limited by following too closely the tradition of formal Greek geometry. Al-Tūsī, in his preference for geometry, however,

was drawn to the study of the trigonometrical aspects, and by divorcing them from astronomy, was able to produce a unique and elaborate treatise, the greatest medieval work of its kind. This treatise, *Kitāb shakl al-qattā'*, dealt with both plane and spherical triangles and was not superseded until the early seventeenth century. Al-Tūsī played an important rôle in the life of his times : sought out by Hülāgū and released by him from the Ismā'īlī stronghold of Alamūt, he became chief astronomer at Marāgha and also Hülāgū's astrologer. Hülāgū placed great confidence in him and consulted him, because of his astrological knowledge, on all important occasions. He was probably with Hülāgū at the sacking of Baghdad in 1258, and although his compilation of the Īl-khānian Tables kept him in contact with Marāgha for the next twelve years or so, he died in Baghdad in 1274.

Further information about science in medieval Persia may be gleaned from the Muslim travellers and geographers of the fourteenth century and from certain encyclopædists. Mineralogy, medicine, and natural history claimed special interest. We may mention especially the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, a scientific encyclopædia, completed in 1340 by Hāmdallah Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī, and the famous collection, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, of Rashīd al-Dīn. The *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* was commenced by Rashīd al-Dīn in A.D. 1304 at the request of Ghazān Khān, and the whole work saw completion some eight years later under Ghazān's successor Uljāitū. This universal history tells us, incidentally about al-Tūsī and the Marāgha observatory, and about Chinese block printing ; furthermore, it deplors Hülāgū's interest in alchemy, which Rashīd al-Dīn regarded as largely quackery. But for the historian of science another work by Rashīd al-Dīn is of greater significance. It is the *Tānksūqnāmah-i-Īl-khān* dealing with the sciences of Cathay, and is especially concerned with medicine. Rashīd al-Dīn was initially physician and adviser to Abāqā, and retained this medical position under Ghazān and under Ghazān's brother Uljāitū, so that, apart from State duties it constituted his professional life. He was interested in the organization of hospitals at such places as Hamadān—his birthplace, Tabrīz and Shīrāz, and he had drugs collected for hospital use from all parts of the East. The *Tānksūqnāmah-i-Īl-khān* comprised four volumes. A Persian manuscript of the first volume was discovered by Dr. Süheil Ünver in the library of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul in 1939 and an edition of it was printed in Turkish in the same year. This edition has typically Chinese illustrations, and deals with the pulse theory (apparently derived from Wang Shu-ho who had flourished a thousand years earlier under the Western Chin Dynasty), and with certain aspects of anatomy, embryology, and gynaecology. Other treatises of Rashīd al-Dīn may yet be discovered, and if we are so

fortunate, we shall have further information of considerable interest : for instance, we know that he wrote on smallpox and on the nature of heat, and that he compiled a Book of Animals and Monuments dealing with many subjects, such as agriculture, trees and insects of economic value, pestology, architecture, shipbuilding, metallurgy, and meteorology—a diverse but valuable collection.

The influence of Rashīd al-Dīn was tremendous ; so great indeed that it brought his downfall. He had editions of his own works prepared, and beautifully illustrated by miniature paintings, for use in the principal mosque libraries in Persia. Unfortunately, he did not make any use of the Chinese block-printing with which he was familiar. His patronage and influence probably initiated the Tabriz School of painting in the early fourteenth century. Rashīd al-Dīn was a true polyglot, who met and encouraged learned men from many Eastern countries, and whose wealth was wisely used in colossal cultural enterprises, scientific and otherwise. Amongst his literary friends was Ḥamdallah Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī. Rashīd's death by execution at the age of seventy or more was a sad ending to a career of great achievement. Accused of having poisoned the Īl-khān Uljāitū in 1316—probably unjustly, for he had jealous rivals—he was put to death some two years later.

But this does not exhaust our knowledge of science in medieval Persia ; indeed much remains to be discovered. During the whole period of the Yüan Dynasty (1280-1368) Persia was a cultural focus upon which ideas converged from both East and West, and from which far-reaching influences were projected, as for instance, the Muslim astronomical technique so finely developed by al-Ṭūsī, which was practised at Samarqand, first under Tīmūr Lang, but most successfully under his grandson Ulugh Beg during the period 1420-1449, and which was still a predominating influence in the early eighteenth-century observatories set up in India, at such centres as Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, and Benares, by the enlightened Hindu Mahārāja Sawāi Jai Singh II. By that time, of course, the Muslim instruments were out-dated ; Jai Singh was the last, and worthy, exponent of a long tradition in methods of measurement. The telescope had already been developed in Europe by Galileo and his successors, and was ushering in the new era of observational technique. Perhaps also a word about Samarqand would not be out of place. The observatory of Ulugh Beg bin Shahrūkh bin Tīmūr Kūrgān, erected about four miles north-east of the city, had very large instruments, and a real effort was made to attain the highest precision. According to Greaves, the Englishman who made the Samarqand Tables known to our astronomers, the height of the quadrant used by Ulugh Beg's observers was some 180 feet, or roughly the height of St. Sophia in Constantinople.

How true this figure is I do not know, because I have seen only one photograph (in Ella Christie's book *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand*) which showed the steps leading down to the measuring scale of the instrument. Apparently these foundations of the quadrant were excavated in 1909 and revealed metal rails and a graduated marble coping. I have not had the leisure to find out whether there are recent Russian reports about it, Samarqand being now in the Uzbek Soviet Republic, and much more accurate information may be available. It is also on record that al-Khujandī (who died c. A.D. 1000) had used a sextant of radius 57 feet nine inches. So that large instruments were not so uncommon. What concerns us particularly about the observatory at Samarqand is the presence there of Persian scholars, such as its first director, Jamshīd ibn Mas'ūd, and the illustrious al-Qūshchī, a great favourite of Ulugh Beg.

It is difficult to evaluate Persian science towards the end of the Middle Ages, as so many Central Asian influences converge. Turkish influences were strong. For instance, Ulugh Beg and the second director of his observatory, Qādī Zādeh al-Rūmī, were Turks, whilst the astronomer Al-Qūshchī went finally to Constantinople, where he presented to the Sultan a manual of arithmetic called in his honour *al-Muḥammadiyyah*. Chinese influences were also important. An Arabic astronomical treatise of 1362 with Mongol annotations and a Chinese title exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It was written by a Persian astronomer, 'Aṭā' ibn Ahmad al-Samarqandī for Chen-Hsi-Wu-Ching, a prince of the Yüan dynasty. The clear superiority of Persian science in the fourteenth century over that in the ninth may be judged by comparing the theories of the rainbow. Job of Edessa, following Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, Book III, explains it entirely by reflection of the sunlight on the humidity of the atmosphere; with Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī and his disciple Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī full consideration is given to the mechanism of both reflection and refraction inside the raindrops in accordance with the findings of Ibn al-Haitham.

The first name of our great trio is that of Ibn Sīnā. Professor Sarton has said that "his triumph was too complete; it discouraged original investigations and sterilized intellectual life." We may regard his thought as representing the highest achievement of medieval philosophy. He was the author of a treatise on minerals and geology and of writings on musical theory, and he made a translation of Euclid, but his enduring fame rests upon two great encyclopædic works, the *Qānūn* and the *Kitāb al-shifā*.'

A compilation of one million words, the *Qānūn* was the final court of appeal in medieval times in all matters relating to medical science, and

it remained so in Europe until the seventeenth century, and indeed it still wields tremendous influence in Islām. A Latin version of it was made by Gerard of Cremona in the first half of the eleventh century, and printed editions appeared in the Italian medical centres, where the *Qānūn* was the standard work used, in the late fifteenth century. Though the synthetic tendencies of Ibn Sīnā tended to draw his attention away from experimental work, the *Qānūn* contains some valuable observations, such as those relating to skin troubles. The influence of the *Qānūn* may be judged from the fact that it replaced the works of Galen. Ibn Sīnā wrote some fifteen other treatises also on medicine. There is a fascinating miniature of this "Prince and Chief of Physicians" delivering a lecture on anatomy in a sixteenth-century manuscript of an anatomical work by Mansur which was in the collection of the late Max Meyerhof, and is now, I believe, in the Fuad University in Cairo.

The second masterpiece of Ibn Sīnā is the philosophical treatise *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, which sets forth clearly and forcibly his views on a vast range of subjects. A fine copy, obtained in the oasis of Yarkand by Sir Francis Younghusband, exists in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. This treatise contains some very interesting material, the physical aspects of which have roused my curiosity, but I have had no time to investigate them, and a careful translation is undoubtedly required. It is known that Ibn Sīnā discussed such physical questions as the nature of mechanical force, motion, the vacuum, heat and light, and that he regarded light as a motion of particles endowed with a high, though finite, speed. He thus anticipated the corpuscular theory of Sir Isaac Newton by, at any rate, a hypothesis, but I cannot tell you more at present. His treatment of musical intervals was superior to that of al-Fārābī and is the best Islamic contribution to musical theory. Opposed to the sterile alchemical doctrines of his day, he clearly realised that the problem of transmutation of the metals was a far deeper one than that which concerned a mere change of physical property, such as colour. Though world-renowned as a theorist, Ibn Sīnā did invent a measuring contrivance similar to the vernier.

The predominant figure in Asian history between A.D. 997-1030 was Maḥmūd of Ghazna in Afghanistan. In the year 1017 he marched upon Khiva and returned to Ghazna with many leading men of that country as prisoners, among whom was Abū Raiḥan al-Bīrūnī. Though in the cultural centre of Ghazna, Maḥmūd is said to have had "four hundred poets chanting in his halls and gardens," neither al-Bīrūnī nor his contemporary Firdausī had any reasons to be grateful to him. It was under Maḥmūd's successor Mas'ūd that al-Bīrūnī seems to have held

forth in praise of his sovereign, especially in the preface to his astronomical encyclopædia, which was actually entitled *al-qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*.

We may say at once that al-Bīrūnī ranks among the greatest geniuses of all time. He was a reflecting, tolerant, and broad-minded scholar, generally impartial and fair in judgment, and an acute observer. He had, however, a love of Persia, and indeed of India, and was to some extent biased against the Arabic culture exemplified by Baghdad. His interest in Hindu thought was deep and sincere. It was unique, and it has proved an invaluable source of information to later historians. In his great book *Indika* he has written, in respect of this study:—"I stand quite alone in my time." He was profoundly affected by the teachings of the *Bhagavad-gītā* and of the *Purāṇas*. The ravages resulting in India from the incursions of Maḥmūd certainly were not calculated to inspire Hindu respect for a stranger like al-Bīrūnī, and it is remarkable that he has managed to place so much valuable information on record. No doubt his tolerance and impartiality stood him well. But the troubled times limited his inquiries. The Hindu centres of culture, Benares and Kashmīr, were closed to him, and though he was told about Brahminism, the mysteries of Buddhism remained. We badly need an extended account of the scientific life of al-Bīrūnī, but there are a lot of manuscripts requiring translation and probably many that are still uncatalogued, and it would be no light task. I have made a preliminary investigation and have certain ideas in my mind, but my Persian is as yet quite inadequate for such an undertaking: however, I shall not forget about it. His remarkable versatility which revealed itself in all the sciences of his day, but especially in astronomy, mathematics, and geography, deserves such a fitting memorial.

The four major works of al-Bīrūnī were the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, dealing especially with their calendars; the *Indika* or *Ta'rikh al-Hind*, treating of all the sciences, the thought and customs of India in A.D. 1030, the astronomical treatise we have just mentioned, and a treatise on the astrolabe, which was the principal instrument of Muslim astronomy.

The *Ta'rikh al-Hind* reveals a competent knowledge of Hindu astronomy and astrology. Al-Bīrūnī makes special reference to the five main *Siddhāntas*, or Hindu treatises relating to these subjects, and gives the contents of the *Brahma-siddhānta*, attributed by him to the famous astronomer Brahmagupta who flourished in the city of Ujjayini in the seventh century. The best-known treatise, the *Sūrya-siddhānta*, composed, according to al-Bīrūnī, by Lāṭa, was first translated into English by the Rev. E. Burgess, a missionary among the Marathas, "with the aid of Brahmans who were familiar with the Sanskrit and well

versed in Hindu astronomical science," and appeared in 1860. Al-Bīrūnī was not the first to make known the Hindu astronomy to the Muslim world : tradition has it that information in written form, called by the Arabs *Sindhind*, was brought by an Indian pandit to the court of al-Manṣūr, in Baghdad, as early as A.D. 770, but there is little doubt that al-Bīrūnī, by his zeal and penetration, understood more of its content and spirit than any of his predecessors. He knew also about the writings of other Hindu astronomers and mathematicians, such as the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira, who flourished in the early sixth century.

It is only possible in this brief space to mention the other scientific achievements of al-Bīrūnī as a list of items. He has left the best medieval account of the Hindu numerals and the principle of position which defines our present decimal system. His treatment of certain problems by conic sections, to which we shall refer presently (though only in passing) later assisted 'Umar Khayyām in his algebraical researches. Mathematical geography was enriched by his determinations of latitudes and longitudes and by his stereographic projections, there being no treatment of the latter subject of comparable value until the seventeenth century. Al-Bīrūnī explained natural springs and artesian wells according to the principles of hydrostatics, and he regarded the Indus Valley as an ancient sea-bed " which by degrees has been filled up by the alluvium of the streams." He is also known for his accurate determinations of the relative densities of metals and precious stones. In connexion with a problem in chess he summed a mathematical series (a geometrical progression) which gave an answer of $16^{16}-1$. Finally, he investigated the morphology of flowers, studied optics, and knew something of *materia medica* and the tradition of Caraka. It is interesting to note that in the days of al-Bīrūnī there were windmills in Sijistān.

We come finally to 'Umar Khayyām, whose quatrains are well known. His main occupation, however, was a scientific one, and that is not so easily explained. Whilst Court astronomer to the Saljuq sultan, Jalāl al-Dīn, he reformed the Persian calendar so that it was as good as, if not superior to, the Gregorian. His great achievement was the production of a treatise on Algebra which represents the peak of medieval achievement in that subject. It is the last of a long series of attempts, beginning with an earlier Persian mathematician al-Mahānī (who flourished c. 860), to solve and to systematize algebraic equations of the third degree. The initial impetus arose out of a problem of Archimedes which stimulated the curiosity of Muslim mathematicians. This problem was : How to divide a sphere into two parts by cutting it straight through so that the volumes of the two parts are in a given proportion. Now

the Greeks were essentially geometricians, but the medieval Muslim scholars, though more influenced by Greek geometry than by Hindu algebra, found that this problem when expressed algebraically necessitated the solution of an equation of the third degree, an equation which had peculiar fascination for them. Al-Mahānī failed to solve it. But later a Persian mathematician al-Khāzin (who was flourishing c. 950) succeeded, and he did it by finding the points of intersection of two special curves, which happen to be obtainable as sections of a cone when it is cut. The use of these conic sections in solving equations immediately opened up a new field of research in which the Muslims excelled. Problems which could not be solved by geometrical constructions involving the use of ruler and compasses alone, such as the trisection of an angle, came within this field. The name of al-Bīrūnī figures prominently in the new investigations. Even an equation of the fourth degree was successfully solved by the intersection of a circle and a hyperbola, this time in Egypt by Ibn al-Haitham (Alhazen), A.D. 965-1039, who spent the last years of his life in the vicinity of al-Azhar. This equation arose in connexion with an optical problem which has since been called Alhazēn's Problem, which was : to determine the point of reflection of a ray of light on the surface of a concave mirror when the source of the ray of light and the eye of the observer are in known positions. Now 'Umar Khayyām made a study of all such problems tackled by his predecessors, from al-Khuwārizmī onwards (though al-Khuwārizmī did not proceed beyond equations of the second degree), and he classified the equations involved, and prepared in Arabic a systematic treatise on them. In particular, he corrected the mistakes of another eminent Persian mathematician, Abu'l-Jūd ibn al-Laith, a contemporary of al-Bīrūnī.

Still under Greek geometrical influence 'Umar Khayyām illustrated the terms of the equations by lines, areas, and volumes ; for example, if x were to be represented by the edge of a cube, then x^2 would be represented by the area of one of its faces, and x^3 by the volume of the cube. Thus was built up a system of geometrical algebra, and the cubic equations were solved by drawing out the conic sections and discussing their intersection in geometrical terms. It might be thought on a first acquaintance that 'Umar Khayyām had anticipated Descartes by over five hundred years in the discovery of the co-ordinate or algebraical geometry. But this is not the case, for he treats algebra geometrically, rather than geometry algebraically. Nevertheless, in spite of the limitations imposed upon the author by the lack of a good algebraical symbolism, the *Algebra* of 'Umar Khayyām is a unique treatise, and the greatest of its kind produced in medieval times.

It is interesting to speculate on the effect this important treatise might have had upon mathematical studies in Europe had it become available in a medieval Latin version. When it did become known, its significance as an instrument in the discovery of new knowledge had disappeared, the investigations which might have arisen out of it having been made quite independently by European scholars. Its contents were only revealed when the Dutch, French, and English penetrated India, and the first European version, in French, was completed by F. Woepcke just a century ago. I know of only five manuscript copies, though there may be others awaiting discovery ; two exist in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, one is in the Library of the University of Leiden, another (incomplete) in the India Office Library, and a fifth was purchased from a Persian dealer in Lahore by Professor David Eugene Smith of Columbia University, New York, and formed the basis of a translation printed in America in 1931.- Whereas the Algebra of 'Umar Khayyām lay hidden in Eastern libraries, the *Algebra* of al-Khuwārizmī, which was written as early as A.D. 825, came into Europe through the Latin translation, dated 1145 at Segovia, made by Robert of Chester, and not only initiated European algebra (Arabic : *al-jabr*) but influenced its development until the sixteenth century. The work of 'Umar Khayyām, had it become known in Europe in the Middle Ages, might have accelerated the discovery of algebraical or co-ordinate geometry, which was not made by Descartes until 1637.

So I come to the end of my story. It is, I am afraid, very incomplete. Of the Muslim science of Baghdad we know a good deal. But of the two phases of the history of science which immediately precede and follow that of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate, and which were confined more particularly to Persia, we can know only through a long period of research in a field which is just being opened. There is no history of Jūndīshāpūr which satisfies our curiosity about the scientific activities in that city. As for the Mongol period, it is certain that other relevant and valuable manuscripts still remain undiscovered or unedited, and only in July of this year did a paper by Willy Hartner on the astronomical instruments of Cha-ma-li-ting appear in the international review *Isis*, which links up with some pertinent remarks made by Dr. Joseph Needham of Cambridge, who is actively concerned with Chinese science, in a UNESCO Monthly Lecture at Beirut on 4th December, 1948. I have already mentioned the astronomical treatise of al-Samarqandī in Paris, and I do not know whether it has been investigated yet. However, as the years roll by, I am sure that we shall come to think more of the scientists of Persia, and perhaps when we praise Persian mysticism, and Persian

poetry, and Persian art, we shall add in the same breath—"and Persian science."

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REVIEWS

THE AFGHAN SCENE

Afghanistan : A study of Political Developments in Central Asia, by Lt.-Col. Sir Kerr Fraser-Tytler, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.C. Pp. XIII—330, 4 maps and 4 illustrations, Geoffrey Cumberlege for the Oxford University Press, London, etc., 1950. 21/-.

By W. E. D. ALLEN, OBE, FSA.

This is a timely and competent book ; well produced at a reasonable price (for these days). After taking a University degree, Sir Kerr Fraser-Tytler entered the Indian Army in 1910. He saw much service on the North-West Frontier and in Africa during the First World War. Following the Third Afghan War in 1919, he transferred to the Foreign and Political Department and served in various capacities, chiefly on the North-West Frontier and at the British Legation in Kabul. From 1935 to 1941 Sir Kerr was British Minister in Afghanistan.

It often happens that men best qualified by experience to write on a subject do not enjoy the gift of literary expression. Fortunately Sir Kerr in his first book has shewn marked talent. His style is clear and direct and, while he is commendably objective, he is not afraid to declare his views. He has the gift of description both in topography and in narrative ; and he has a pleasant turn in the delineation of character. He knows his way through the voluminous literature of his subject (so far as English sources are concerned) and he marshals his facts with ability.

The first quarter of the book is devoted to a survey of the geography, history and ethnography of Afghanistan and in the limited space Sir Kerr is successful in giving a lucid sketch of an essentially complicated subject.

The pith of the book covers the history of Afghanistan during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. And into this local history Sir Kerr weaves the theme of what he aptly calls "the Great Game in Central Asia"—the growing rivalry of Britain and Russia as the frontiers of the two empires gradually approached across the political and racial no-man's land between the Indus and the Oxus. With considerable skill Sir Kerr analyses the underlying factors which tended to make this rivalry inevitable and potentially fatal. First, there was the pressure of the frontiers of civilized imperial powers on the marches of unstable or anarchic communities : in one case it was against the nomad Kirgiz of the Central Asian steppes, in the other against raiding mountaineers of the North-West frontier. Sir Kerr reprints in full as an Appendix the classic Memorandum of Prince Gorchakoff on this subject when the Chancellor sought to define the limits which Russia might accept in Central Asia. Indeed, Gorchakoff professed to find convenient "buffers" in the comparatively stable Khanates of Khokand and Bukhara (then, in 1864, still independent) as the British aimed to fix their frontiers, with more success (and possibly with more sincerity), along the flank of an independent and self-contained Afghanistan.

Further there was mutual distrust between the two powers which became malignant in Central Asia during the periods when their major relations had deteriorated as the result of movements in international politics. It is easy to ridicule the so-called "Mervousness" of British officials on the subject of Russian designs on India. Alarm first became acute during the Napoleonic Wars when the eastern ambitions of Napoleon were common knowledge and when the French had already staked much on the Egyptian and Syrian expeditions. In 1801, The Emperor Paul, then in alliance with Napoleon, had actually despatched 22,500 Cossacks with 24 guns to Orenburg with orders to march "through Khiva and Bukhara towards the river Indus."¹ The French were becoming active in Persia (although General Gardanne's military mission did not arrive until five years later), and practical soldiers could recall that it was little over half a century since Nadir Shah had marched to Delhi. After the meeting of the French and Russian Emperors at Tilsit in 1807, the project of a combined Franco-Russian attack on India through Persia and Afghanistan was actual. There followed much British diplomatic activity: the missions of Malcolm and Harford Jones to Teheran and of Elphinstone and Metcalfe to the Afghan and Sikh Courts. In Afghanistan, the treaty which Elphinstone concluded with Shah Shuja proved abortive since the latter lost his throne three weeks later; but in Persia British influence grew at the expense of both France and Russia. In the Definitive Treaty of 1814, British interest in what was to become the Russian sphere in Central Asia was expressed in a clause which bound Fath' Ali Shah to use his influence to induce the rulers of "Khwarazm (Khiva), Tataristan, Bokhara and Samarcand" to oppose any army which might endeavour to cross their territories with a view to the invasion of India.²

Thus the automatic expansion of imperial frontiers into anarchic no-man's lands and mutual distrust accentuated at periods by movements in international politics were the two main factors promoting Anglo-Russian rivalry. There was, again, a growing competition for potential markets to which the Russians, with their less developed economy, were perhaps the more sensitive. On this subject, Sir Kerr aptly quotes the despatch of Count Nesselrode to the Russian Ambassador in London at the height of the Herat crisis:

"English industry, exclusive and jealous, would deprive us entirely of the benefits which it pretends to reap alone; and would cause, if it could, the produce of our manufactories to disappear from all the markets of Central Asia: Witness the remarks of Burnes, and the tendency of English travellers who have followed his steps on the road to Bokhara, and to the very gates of Orenburg."

The twenty years which followed the Anglo-Persian Definitive Treaty of 1814 were marked by a formidable progress in the advance of Russian influence over the whole area from the Balkans to the Hindu Kush. The Treaties of Gulistan (1814) and Turkmanchay (1828) with Persia confirmed the Russian establishment in the Caucasus as far as their modern frontier on the Araks; further the Russians secured an ascendancy in Persian affairs which lasted for a quarter of a century. During the same period the Treaties of Adrianople (1829) and Hunkâr-iskesi (1833) with Turkey set up a dangerous Russian primacy in the political guidance of the weakened government of Mahmud II.

The pressure of Russian influence eastward was felt in the encouragement which was given by the Russian Minister in Teheran, Count Simonich, to the Persians to revive their historic claims on the city of Herat. Afghanistan, during the 1830's was emerging from two decades of anarchy. Dost Muhammad, the first of the Muhammadzai rulers, was established in Kabul; but Herat remained in the hands of Kamran Khan, a cadet of the fallen Sadozais. The struggle for Herat, which lasted two years (1836-38) was a curious conflict of personalities: on the British side, Alexander Burnes, William Macnaghten and Eldred Pottinger (whose chance presence in the besieged city saved it from the Persians); on the Russian side, Simonich and Captain Vitkovich (not Vickovich as Sir Kerr has it), the Russian agent in Afghanistan. Burnes, Macnaghten (and Stoddart who was also in Herat) all came to violent ends, and Pottinger died in exhausted health five years later. Vitkovich, disowned as "an adventurer" by the Russian authorities, committed suicide.

The struggle for Herat marked the beginning of a new phase in Anglo-Russian relations in Central Asia. Herat—as Sir Kerr has emphasised—covers the western end of the great mountain barrier of the Hindu Kush. Both sides had become aware of the strategic significance of the city and of the potential importance of Afghanistan as the barrier state between the Oxus and the Indus.³ The British reaction was unfortunate. By a combination of

¹ On this subject there is an interesting passage in an article by F. Raskolnikov on "Russia and Afghanistan" in the journal *Novy Vostok*, vol. 4 (1923), pp. 12-48.

² *Aitchison's Treaties*, No. VII, quoted by Sykes, *History of Persia*, vol. 2, p. 309.

³ The *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* has only a brief notice on Herat: "Herat has great strategic significance, i.e., it lies on the operational route Quetta—Kandahar—Kushka—Merv and can serve as a central base for an army operating in that direction or on the side of Meshed."

accidents and miscalculations, Lord Auckland allowed his Government to become involved in the First Afghan War (1838-42). The war was directed against the new and able ruler, Dost Muhammad. As Macnaghten wrote: "We ejected the Dost who never offended us, in support of our policy (in favour of the Sikhs) of which he was the victim." In the words of Sir Kerr Fraser-Tytler:

"After restoring British prestige, in their own estimation at any rate, the British quitted the country and allowed Dost Muhammad to resume his interrupted reign . . . They restored, so far as in them lay, the *status quo*, but they could not restore what they had utterly destroyed, Afghan faith in British justice and fair dealing. Nearly a hundred years were to pass before that faith could be built anew on fresh foundations." (p.119).

Sir Kerr holds the view that one of the effects of the First Afghan War was actually to stimulate the Russian "forward policy" in Central Asia. After an initial failure against Khiva in 1839, the Russians occupied the line of the Sir Darya (1847-53): This advance was, perhaps, unpretentious, compared with the British annexation of Sind and the Punjab (1843-49). But, after a pause during the decade of the Crimean War, the Russians pushed forward into the vast area of Lake Issik Kul and the ranges of the T'ien Shan (1863). The Gorchakoff Memorandum on the problems of administering imperial frontiers was produced as an apology for this advance. Tashkent was the next to go (1865); and in 1868 the famous Moslem and Turkish city of Samarcand passed under Russian rule. A year later Bukhara became a vassal state of the Tsar and Russian influence was extended to the Oxus.

In India the Russian progress promoted a controversy on frontier policy which was never effectively decided in either sense. In the words of Sir Kerr Fraser-Tytler:

"Thus began some ninety years ago a controversy which has raged ever since on the vital question of British political strategy along this great frontier of empire. When it first began the opposing views were drastic in the extreme: on the one side an advance to Quetta if not the Herat; on the other a retreat to the Indus or, if not, a policy of 'masterly inactivity' behind a closed border and no dealings with Afghanistan." (p. 131 and see also p. 134).

In "The 'Great Game' Continued"—one of the best chapters in his book, Sir Kerr shows how Anglo-Afghan relations again deteriorated "during those fateful years from 1872 to 1878." He quotes the great Rawlinson to effect and emphasises that his famous memorandum of July, 1868 "though it failed to move Lawrence or Mayo, remained as the foundation on which the 'forward policy' was gradually built up."

In 1873 when the Russians occupied Khiva, the Afghan Amir Sher Ali appealed to the Viceroy for advice and support. But "there was no question of personal contact" (which had eventually proved so effective in the case of Dost Muhammad) and, after several years of abortive negotiations and disappointments, a new Viceroy, Lord Lytton, in 1878, expressed the elegant view that the Amir should be allowed "to stew in his own gravy." In the spring of 1877, while launching their armies against Turkey in the Balkans and the Caucasus, the Russians struck shrewdly in Turkistan. Khokand was annexed and a force was sent to reconnoitre the Turkmen country in the direction of Merv.

The defeat of the Turkish armies and the advance of the Russians to the sea of Marmara provoked a political and diplomatic crisis of the first order during the early months of 1878.

"As a counterpart to warlike British measures in Europe, the Russians began to move troops towards the Afghan frontier and in the summer of 1878 despatched a diplomatic mission to the Amir . . . On hearing of the despatch of the Russian mission Sher Ali was seized with panic and tried to stop it. But the situation had passed beyond his control."

Sir Kerr points out that by the time the Stolietov mission reached Kabul all danger of war in Europe had passed.

"The only effect of the mission was to give Lord Lytton the opportunity he sought to establish a 'scientific' frontier for India and to condemn Sher Ali to the fate of a pawn in the great game of Central Asia." (p. 144).

The Second Afghan War followed in a rather less disastrous pattern the course of the First. British arms were everywhere victorious (but Sir Louis Cavagnari, the unfortunate political representative in Kabul shared the same fate as Macnaghten thirty years before). Lord Lytton contemplated the dismemberment of Afghanistan when a change of government in England prevented the consummation of this ultimate expression of the "forward policy," and the British found in the new Amir Abdur Rahman an Afghan statesman capable of restoring the country which they had ruined and the political relationship which had been so seriously prejudiced.

There followed the long conflict over Merv and Pandjeh—the last serious crisis in Anglo-Russian relations in Central Asia. It was not until 1895 that the vexed question of the Russo-Afghan boundary was finally agreed. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 (resented by the Afghans as by the Persians) opened a new relationship between the two dominant powers in Central Asia—which, as events proved, was to last hardly more than a decade. Sir Kerr comments:

“The framework of stability in Central Asia had now been erected. Not only that, but it had been erected on the historic line of the Oxus, resting on the mountains of the Hindu Kush, resting on the line which had so often in the past guarded the approaches to India from the barbarians of the north. Would this framework hold against the strains and stresses of imperial policies, and grow stronger as the years went on, or would it give way and let yet another wave of invasion and conquest surge round and over the barrier?”

Sir Kerr has two interesting chapters on “The Problem of the Tribes” and he describes from personal knowledge the events of the Third Afghan War—provoked entirely by the recklessness of the Amir Amanullah. His account of the fall of Amanullah and of the rise to power of the Musahiban family is competently done and full of interest. He gives details of the wide German activity in Afghanistan before the Second World War; and of abortive Japanese and Italian activities. His observations on the useful and constructive role of Turkish missions in the country suggest the possibility of closer and fruitful co-operation between these two progressive Moslem countries.

Sir Kerr gives particulars of Soviet-Afghan relations. During Enver Pasha's leadership of the Basmaji revolt in Turkistan in the autumn of 1922, the mercurial Amanullah, so recently at war with the British, concentrated his army on his northern frontier—“his head filled with dreams of a Central Asian Confederacy under his own leadership.” A Soviet demand for declaration of neutrality and for the withdrawal of Afghan forces from the frontier quickly cooled the Amir; after the death of Enver and the flight of the Amir of Bukhara tension subsided. From 1924 onwards the Soviets began to take an increasing interest in Afghan affairs while Amanullah proved by no means unfriendly. The most significant development was the attachment of thirty Soviet citizens to the Afghan Air Force and the provision of facilities for the training of Afghan pilots in Tashkent (This arrangement was terminated by Nadir Shah after his accession to the throne in 1929).

“At the time of Amanullah's downfall the Russian star was in the ascendant at Kabul. It was generally supposed that the Soviet Government, who at this time made no secret of the fact that the main objective of their eastern policy was to overthrow British rule in the East, were preparing the ground in Afghanistan to use it as a base in some form or other for an eventual advance towards India.” (p.220).

In keeping with their normal policy of “cutting their losses” the Soviets did not react very strongly to the fall of Amanullah. Shortly after the final defeat of the King, his Ambassador in Moscow, Ghulam Nabi, crossed the Oxus with a small force “almost certainly equipped and reinforced by the Soviet Government.” But they were not prepared to back their fancy very far and Ghulam Nabi, finding that northern Afghanistan was bitterly hostile to Amanullah, soon withdrew across the Oxus. In 1930, when Nadir Shah was struggling to restore order in the country, the Soviets sent troops across the Afghan border in order to enforce the rounding up and surrender of a Basmaji chieftain, Ibrahim Beg, who was using Afghan territory as a base for raids across the Oxus.

Following the Second World War relations between the Afghans and the Soviets were sufficiently cordial to allow of the settlement of the vexed Oxus frontier question (1946).

The three final chapters of Sir Kerr's book are devoted to a consideration of “The Past and the Future” in which, under the influence of Professor Toynbee's *Study of History*, the author embarks on philosophical and historical generalisations. Sir Kerr's ideas are original and full of interest, but Indians will hardly welcome the pessimism of the author. The view that the future of Pakistan and Afghanistan lies in a close association of the two countries is controversial and daring and the author is to be congratulated on his courage in expressing an original and somewhat “revolutionary” opinion.

It is easy and sophistical to refer to trivial errors in the text. But surely “Sri Darya” should be “Sir Darya” and “Orenberg”—“Orenburg.” The Kirgiz are not “Cossacks” but “Kazaks.” The latter is a Turkish word meaning, originally, “outlaw.” (In modern Turkish it has the colloquial sense of a “He-man,” “a tough male.”). The Russian word “Cossack” derives from the older Turkish form. It is rather unkind to describe Babur as “the old Emperor” at the age of forty-seven (p. 37). The index is defective (e.g., Ghulam Nabi, Basmaji—omitted). The photographs are first class and it is a pity that the publishers would not run to more.

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INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS AND INDIA

By SIR ALAGAPPA CHETTIAR, LL.D.

TO CHOOSE the subject for a talk is fraught with many a risk. I have accepted the risk with confidence in the belief that I have before me an assembly of people who have in more senses than one promoted the welfare of India. It is my earnest hope that such meetings between the nationals of my country and the British members of your organization will continue to keep alive the great friendship which has been built through the recent history of both countries.

The subject is vast. The facets are many. In this fast-changing world ideologies are in conflict. Hence it is my desire more to place the particular problems of India in the context of this subject rather than to offer a simple cure to unsuspecting customers. An analysis of industrialization and the economic and social problems that it creates and leaves behind is of considerable interest at the present time, because we find the remedy is applied to-day more with zeal than with knowledge. It is of peculiar importance to-day particularly to the countries of Asia which have won political freedom in the post-war period and are attempting to emulate their erstwhile masters to achieve progress through total industrialization.

MISTAKEN THEORIES

The major lessons may be summarized as follows. First is the discovery that industrial advancement does not by itself solve the social and economic problems of the community. It was realized that industrialization and prosperity did not always go together. There were periods of boom and periods of slump. Examination generally took the form of finding out why economic depressions occurred resulting in lower production and unemployment. Amongst the various causes one cause, paradoxically enough, was found to be the very efficiency of the industry itself. Technical efficiency together with large scale production and mechanization of various processes led in course of time to vast output of material at cheap cost, and much reduction of human labour. At one end this led to men being thrown out of employment. At the other end it led to the market being dumped with goods in excess of demand, leading in turn, wherever possible, to a search for more markets, attempts to preserve existing markets as sheltered ones, and to a greater extent than might be supposed, deliberate restrictions of output. Given a certain minimum of employable population and a certain standard of real wages, it was soon discovered that unless there was a huge and

expanding internal market, as in the United States, or some kind of economic imperialism, increasing technical efficiency in industry was not an unmixed blessing. Attempts to get over the difficulty of unemployment by various kinds of social benefits and insurance by the State hurt industry in another way, by the levy of crippling taxation. So the situation that industrialization is facing to-day may be summed up by the Shavian paradox of "the dangerous consequences of efficiency."

The second point is that of the upsetting of pet economic theories. The emergence of Japan before the war as a major industrial power in the world was surprising to many economists. Distinguished European economists were convinced that cheap labour was ultimately dear labour and that it paid the industry to provide higher wages as a means of better work, greater efficiency and output. This view was based on the economic theory of the importance of a standard of living as related to efficiency of work. Japan, however, showed that cheap labour working long hours could be extremely efficient. This in turn upset the calculations of several European industrialists who came to learn that climate, social habits and tradition have as large a part to play in efficiency as the mere desire for the increase in the standard of living.

PLANNED ECONOMY

The last war showed up another fallacy, namely, that highly industrial countries did not have sufficient international bargaining power during times of economic crisis as long as they had not taken care to satisfy the basic needs of the people, i.e. food and clothing, without recourse to external help. During the war we witnessed the phenomena of countries with extra food supplies like Argentina, Canada, and Australia having, from an economic point of view, a much greater bargaining power than countries which specialized in the production of manufactured goods, like Great Britain. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that the war brought out the inherent instability of a country whose population had increased on the basis of heavy exports of manufactured goods and heavy imports of food.

Next there is the recent emphasis on planned economy. It is being increasingly felt that industrialization cannot be thought of, excepting in terms of total planning. This theory has indirectly come from Russia. The two five-year plans of Russia gave momentum to that idea. Further the large volume of controls forced by circumstances and emergency upon the various countries during the war, have helped to create a favourable atmosphere for this type of thinking. The last few decades have seen the machinery of human life becoming powerful and more important

than life itself. The belief has inclined to shift towards the overwhelming importance of structure and function than of the person for whom it has been ultimately intended—the poor *Homo Sapiens*. It is the Government—not the governed ; the system, not the citizen ; the plan and the machinery, not the psychology of civilization, with which we have now to contend.

ECONOMIC CONCLUSIONS

This then is the general economic background that confronts those who seek to make a new heaven and a new earth.

First, the realization that rapid industrialization can be a mixed blessing ; second, the fact that economic doctrines can easily be exaggerated into universal laws if taken out of their historical context and circumstance ; third, that the expression of the classical economists, “ standard of living ” can have more than one meaning ; fourth, that an economy that leaves the fundamental needs of the people, that is, food, clothing and shelter to a secondary place will necessarily suffer during times of crisis ; fifth, that the lessons to be learnt from one country are of limited application to others seeing that small countries, those with colonial empires and those with large home markets have each to fashion their industrial programmes on separate lines ; and last but not least, the need for planning by reference to certain objectives which themselves are by no means unalterable.

THE GANDHIAN WAY

India has made no sizeable contribution to the concept of industrialization as it has evolved through the past. But there is one feature of Indian conditions which is relevant in considering industrialization, and that is her large population. Industrialization in India must be directed not so much to introduce labour saving devices with attendant increase of unemployment, but to help everyone to be more reasonably employed and be assured of fairer conditions of living. The greatest happiness of the greatest number may be a trite expression, but none the less that alone can be the only ideal and objective.

To the philosophy of industrialization, however, the contribution of India may be said to be in pointing out what is popularly called the “ Gandhian Way.” Many have dismissed this way of thinking as being antedeluvian putting the hands of the clock back or crying for the bullock-cart age. The criticism is being justified by Gandhi's alleged abhorrence of machinery.

It is no easy task to summarize the philosophy of a prophet and the essence of his way of life. Socrates was given the cup of hemlock for

speaking the truth. Christ was crucified on account of His teaching. Gandhi was shot at his prayer meeting for preaching love. What we should remember is not the literal interpretation of the philosophy of the thinker and the saint, but the spirit and the essence of the teaching. The main tenet of Gandhi's thinking was the necessity for the simple life in which man attends to his own primary wants like food and clothing and even shelter, himself, without depending on others, and from the point of view of industry, and emphasis on decentralization and small units, as opposed to large scale mass production.

SOCIAL WELFARE

A question that arises is how far the evils associated with life as lived in a highly industrialized society are inherent in industrialization itself, and whether it is possible to go in for mass production, concentration of industrial units and the like without creating industrial depression, unemployment and accumulation of large private fortunes side by side with the existence of poverty. If these should inevitably go together, then one should confess that the Gandhian doctrine had better be pushed to its logical conclusion, and several of the wants of modern man be eliminated altogether. If, on the other hand, modern industries can be organized on a small scale, or even where organized on a large scale, so controlled as to ensure for the benefit of the large mass of men in a community, then perhaps the Gandhian doctrine needs to be amended somewhat.

Suffice it is to say that the Gandhian way of life is a healthy and necessary corrective to the individual will to intense economic activity, namely, the unrestrained desire for wealth, good standards of life, power, and the like. So far the attempts to reconcile the two ways of life have only been partially successful. It cannot be said that the attempt to graft a series of beneficial social programmes on to an industrial society has been completely successful. In some instances it has led to the crippling of industry by piling up overheads in excess of the capacity of the industry to bear. An example is the attempt of certain new countries (India included) to insist on a large percentage of the labour in any factory being housed according to certain minimum standards. There are instances in which this has pushed overheads in new industries to levels which are not competitive. Similarly, one might well ask whether in the long run a series of social welfare programmes undertaken by the State by taxing direct incomes in bulk can be sustained over a long period of time. The danger here is that in attempting to compromise between naked exploitation, as during the 19th century, and complete socialization, as attempted in Russia, one might merely succeed in absorbing the evils

of both systems. Rather it would be better to evolve a specific philosophy which is not a compromise but an integral whole, logical and consistent all through.

A NEW SENSE OF VALUES

It is this idea that I desire to emphasize in this talk. Unless we change the motive power that lies behind the actions of mankind, tinkering with economic problems by making one set of people work for the benefit of another set of people, on the ground that Government owes a duty to society, may succeed for some time but not for all time. Such a policy will not bless either him that gives or him that takes. It creates dissatisfaction in both sets of people. It is not as if the world has not found happiness in the past by ordering a way of life in which the profit motive played a subordinate part, although its existence was understood and given a due place. Medieval society in Europe is an example. The ancient village communities, also to some extent placed the merchant class in a position of lesser importance than the priests and warriors. In modern society professors in well established universities and eminent scientists enjoy a prestige and position beyond all comparison with what is accorded to men of mere wealth.

It is now impossible to hark back to any old order of things. But it should be possible to evolve a society in which values are so defined that what is called "high living" is deprecated and the Gandhian outlook is emphasized. How this can be achieved and translated into workable social institutions is not as easy to define as one might suppose. One can straightway think of a few simple rules, such as the socialization of food production, clothing, housing. One can also suggest the ending of irksome Government controls for achieving these purposes by developing a consciousness amongst small communities. This in turn would involve as much decentralization of economic activity as possible. This does not mean that production of steel, or the building of ships should be decentralized, but it certainly does mean that from the point of view of communal peace and social happiness, production of articles as cheap as possible by the most modern mechanical means one could think of is not in itself a completely desirable objective. How far communities which are already very highly industrialized can evolve this new type of society is a difficult question to answer. But surely the countries of the East should be able to learn from the mistakes that have been committed elsewhere. There is little doubt, however, that if one associates prosperity with industry, as has been done in the past, then the greatest happiness of the greatest number cannot be achieved.

The role played by the State in ordering the industrial life of the country requires close examination. Self-sufficiency, irrespective of the cost it involves, is being advocated. This means two things ; firstly, it makes each country attempt to produce things which it cannot produce so well as certain other countries. This in turn leads to import and export restrictions of a most undesirable kind. Secondly, when a country finds that it lacks certain materials which are economically of great importance, like oil or coal, then State planning may extend to economic control over neighbouring countries that possess these materials or to economic understandings with them, which in turn will create rival international economic blocs.

A main evil disclosed by State planning is the inconsistency of industrial policy. It is not fair to let industry grow unchecked at the first instance and then discover anti-social magnates in the owners. It ends in a colossal waste of national effort when industry is built up and then pulled down. The State should prevent the car taking the wrong road at the very start, and not drag it back with immense effort after it has travelled a considerable distance.

RESEARCH IN INDIA

Besides an active, helpful and consistent State industrial policy every nation must endeavour to develop industrial research. Industry which expects to recline in the armchair of the past and fondly hopes to harvest comfortable dividends is sadly mistaken. Without breathing this pure air of research, industry will just languish and fade away. The traditions of the United Kingdom have been a great inspiration and guidance for us in our country in this regard. Under the nourishing care of our dear Prime Minister, noted alike for his vision and scientific approach to all problems, and ably supported by the distinguished savant, scientist, and super organizer, Dr. Bhatnagar, we have in India now a string of eleven national laboratories—physics at Delhi ; chemistry at Poona ; drug research at Lucknow ; glass and ceramics at Calcutta ; food at Mysore ; metallurgy at Jamshedpur ; and leather research at Madras. It has been my humble good fortune to have persuaded the Government of India, through its governing body of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, to locate the Central Electrical Chemical Research to accept an endowment from me, and also to locate the Central Electrical Chemical Research Institute at my home town, Karaikudi. It is our good fortune to have the services of some very distinguished Europeans to guide the destinies of some of these laboratories ; Professor MacBean, FRS, for the Chemical Research at Poona ; Professor Cusard for the Metallurgical Research at Jamshedpur ; and Sir Edward Mallenby for the Drug Research

at Lucknow, the latter for a temporary period. In fact, the CSIR, have advertised in the UK and in the USA for a Director for this new Central Electrical Chemical Research Institute. There is co-ordination between industry and research. Thanks to the persistent and indefatigable efforts of Pandit Nehru and Dr. Bhatnagar, the Institutes have become realities, and the future will tell what a great source of potential wealth these laboratories indeed are.

To encourage aid to research from industry Government have made provision in the Indian Income Tax Act for treating certain contributions to industrial research as items of expenditure for purposes of computation of income. Further, the Government of India have, during recent years given ample depreciation allowance, both *ad hoc* and otherwise, for double and multiple shifts of working in our factories. In certain cases, machinery purchased at to-day's prices, and worked three shifts as we do in India, in some places we get an overall benefit of as nearly as much as 47½ per cent of the total capital cost in the first year of working. Nothing can be fairer or more encouraging. It is, indeed, a very great incentive towards industrialization, and I am happy to report that these gestures have contributed in no small way to speeding up industrialization projects and endowments towards industrial research in India in the recent few years.

FOREIGN CAPITAL

In the less developed countries there must be scope for employment of foreign capital if they are to advance in industrial methods. India is adopting an admirable policy in this connexion. Our Prime Minister recently stated in Parliament :

Indian capital needs to be supplemented by foreign capital, not only because our nation's savings will not be enough for a rapid development of the country on the scale we wish, but also because scientific, technical and industrial knowledge and capital equality can best be secured with the help of foreign capital.

British and Indian industrialists are becoming increasingly associated in a number of new projects which have already started functioning. Textile machinery manufacturers in Bombay, assembly of motor cars (Morris in Calcutta, Austin and Standard in Madras and Rootes cars in Bombay), and cycles has begun. Signs for the future show that British interest in Indian industry is likely to develop under mutually advantageous conditions. The technical "know how" of the foreign industrialists, the scientific advancement of foreign capital, and more than all the

traditions of skill and precision of other countries built up over centuries have now become available to Indian industry by this happy arrangement.

GROWTH OF REGIMENTATION

I desire to draw attention to a prominent danger which is insidiously creeping into the fabric of practically every society. One wonders whether individuality is being stamped out and regimentation is taking hold. The State by stretching its tentacles too far may develop a type of human being who denies to himself the gifts that he has inherited. The danger now is that we shall soon have, under conditions of planning, self-satisfied human beings thinking and acting alike and ultimately bringing into existence a new dark age during which history had nothing to record or point out as a rare achievement of human endeavour. Economic self-sufficiency is necessary, but if in the process of achieving it, we kill individuality, then what is lost is much greater than what is gained and the present methods of planning, whether by the Russian method or by the shifting compromises that are followed elsewhere, will most certainly lead to this undesirable result.

Hence it is that a change in the motives of human conduct is necessary, which should seek to preserve the individuality of man. This is possible only in small self-conscious communities who want to have enough, but who do not consider that having enough of material goods is the objective of existence. How far in a world that has done so many foolish things in the past would it be at all possible to achieve this intelligent reconciliation between freedom from want, development of individual excellence and the elimination of the love of profit and power? This is the problem that the world is facing to-day.

It has been well said that one lesson that history teaches mankind is that mankind has never learnt from history. One thing is clear as far as India is concerned. Conscious as we are that certain European countries and the Americas have already attained very high levels of industrialization and that consumer countries in their turn are equally anxious to fill in the gaps by starting new industries whenever possible, and the world being split and cut up with high tariff walls, we shall not try to run a race with other powers with the handicap of centuries against us. Further, we are aware that industrialization has not been an unmixed blessing, and there can be no total adoption of a policy which as it solves one set of troubles creates in its trails many a human problem. A great Russian writer said "Man has learnt to fly like birds in the air, swim like fish in the sea, but how to live on earth like man he knoweth not." Let us try to live in the image of our Maker, and prove worthy of His love.

THE foregoing lecture was given at a joint meeting of the Association of the Over-Seas League at Over-Seas House on Thursday, April 5, 1951.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES presided and in introducing Sir Alagappa Chettiar, said they were very old friends. Sir Alagappa Chettiar had already had a remarkable career; and had many years yet to come. He was an industrialist of great eminence in South India, with a legal and banking background; a barrister-at-law who began his commercial life in the Chartered Bank in this country. Indeed, he was the first Indian ever to be entertained in the head office of a British Bank. In that Bank he laid the solid foundations of what afterwards became a very successful career.

Like other enlightened industrialists, Sir Alagappa had used the gains of industry for the benefit of his country. He had established and endowed several institutions which were now playing a very important part in the technical development of India, some of which were now part of the Madras and Ammamalai Universities. He had established, or was establishing, in his own home town, Karaikudi, what might well ultimately develop as a great technological institute in South India.

Sir Alagappa was a person of unusual ability and scholarship. Although young, he had lived long enough to have the street in which he lived named after him—a very unusual distinction for a man to achieve in his life-time. That gave some indication of his experience, ability and eminence.

THE LECTURER said he was most grateful for the kind introduction he had received from the Chairman. When he came to this country he little expected that he would have the great privilege of addressing a body of people belonging to the Association who were watching so closely the progress of India and taking such a keen interest in that progress. He considered it a great honour to be accorded that privilege, and he reciprocated the good wishes which had been expressed. He hoped that such meetings of friends from India and members of their influential organization would continue to take place, with the result of strengthening the bonds of friendship which had long existed between their two great countries.

At the conclusion of the lecture THE CHAIRMAN said that Sir Alagappa had spoken of the Gandhian outlook on life being transformed or transferred into the economic sphere. He suggested that there were a few simple rules which could be accepted and applied, such as the socialization of food production, the production of clothing and housing. Would the lecturer agree to medicine and education being added to those items?

On the importance of scientific research, particularly in industry—the lecturer spoke with authority. Sir Frederick asked him whether he

could help them to solve what was perhaps the greatest problem of all—certainly in this country : how was it possible to bring the results of scientific research carried out in the great and expensive institutions now being established in India to the industrialists and agriculturists themselves—not only the man who financed industry, but also the man who worked in the factory, and the farmer ? There always seemed to be a tremendous gap between the amount of scientific research which was conducted in the research institutions and the amount of knowledge which was conveyed from there to the man who was actually working in the shop or on the land.

Sir Frederick agreed with everything the lecturer said on the need for foreign capital, but wanted to ask him a rather pointed question : he believed that the inflow of foreign capital to a country which needed development depended not so much upon the laws that were passed regulating the treatment which foreign capital received in the country as upon the general political and financial stability of that country and its ability to live at peace with its neighbours. Could he tell them something about those two points ? What did he regard as the future of India from the political and financial point of view ? Did he hold out any real hope of India being able to live in peace with its neighbours, particularly with its nearest neighbour ? That was a matter of very great importance when they were thinking of the inflow of foreign capital.

His last question concerned the important problem of population. The lecturer had touched on the problem as many others had done in recent years—but this did not seem to arrest the increase which in India alone was rising to 42 million in 10 years. That meant that the increase in population outstripped agricultural production and would very quickly outstrip any foreseeable development of industry. In Sir Alagappa's view, what was the solution to that problem, the greatest problem which India had to face today ?

SOCIALIZING EDUCATION

SIR ALAGAPPA CHETTIAR in reply said that in talking about the socialization of medicine and education, what they usually meant was that education must be made available for every member of the community, regardless of his status ; that the opportunity for education according to his talents should be available to everyone. It was an unfortunate fact that, in spite of the very rapid progress they were making in India, quite a large proportion of the boys and girls were not given the opportunity of primary education. So, he did not think they could leave the question of the education of boys and girls to private management and to private institutions ; it was the obligation of the State, or society, or the

Government to take upon itself the sacred duty of giving basic education to all girls and boys.

He had been going round the various universities in this country. Through the kindness of the Chairman he had been able to contact many distinguished heads of departments and vice-chancellors. He had been amazed by the grants they received, and it had made him very envious of conditions in this country. For example, a college or university here with about 500 students, was receiving as much as £50,000 in necessary grants from the national revenue. In India they received the negligible sum of Rs. 5 lacs or Rs. 10 lacs for Madras University, with about 50 colleges affiliated to it. The result was that, unless they had their own private resources or some kind benefactor, people with talent were unable to pursue a course of study—a course suitable to their talents; and this was not merely a denial of opportunity to the boy or girl but, far more important, it was a great wastage of national talent, because every member of the community was ultimately intended to contribute to the happiness and sum total wealth of the community. Hence, primary and secondary education must be provided for all boys and girls, and in the higher reaches scholarships and even grants for living expenses, clothing and books—and, of course, shelter—must be provided to those who needed it.

SOCIALIZING MEDICINE

Turning to the question of medicine, Sir Alagappa said he wondered whether the Chairman was thinking in terms of what was happening in Britain, with the socialization of medicine and national insurance. In India the problem was totally different. He had not studied the conditions here, beyond being told that if he remained long enough he would qualify for a pair of free spectacles! It went without saying that the health of the community was so important that the normal health needs of every member of it must ultimately be the responsibility of the State. But if, in this effort at socialization, there was to be regimentation and no opportunity was to be given to individual talent, then that was something very much to be abhorred. He felt sure that history would show that one could not socialize medicine in the sense that the individual talent and skill of the surgeon or the physician was available only through the agency of Government. The surgeon and the physician must be free to practise in their own way, having their own research departments and being available to the great hospitals and great centres. To bring such eminent people totally under the control of Government would ultimately cause great injury to society.

Unless there were peace and the hope of continuing peace, no matter what kind of political and financial safeguards were provided on paper

the objective of bringing in foreign capital would not be achieved. But the lecturer's hope—and he said there was justification for it—was that although they might quarrel over points, big and small, with their new neighbour, Pakistan, the time would surely come when circumstances would compel both of them to reach a settlement. No matter how long the delay, that settlement was bound to come. Moreover, world opinion would ultimately make itself felt. In spite of the bitterness which existed in many sections between the two countries, already approaches for a settlement had been made and trade negotiations have taken place between them. When there was a quarrel between two people, all they could do was to sit tight and hope and work for peace. Unless that was done, they could not escape the fact that ultimate happiness and progress in finance, and politics and social development was not possible.

Mr. H. B. RICHARDSON said Sir Alagappa had spoken of the establishment of industries in countries to which those industries were not suited, because of the lack of raw materials and for other reasons, and had said that this led to undesirable import and export controls. He thought—and hoped—at the time that the lecturer was advocating free trade, but unfortunately, just before the end of the lecture, he had said that economic self-sufficiency was necessary. He found a dichotomy there which he asked the lecturer to explain.

ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY

THE LECTURER said he was grateful for the opportunity to explain the point. What was happening was that countries—consumer countries, usually—were starting new industries to fill the gaps in supplies, while other countries were making desperate efforts to hold their markets, e.g. the manufacture of artificial fibres and synthetic rubber. Malaya and Indonesia were producing so much rubber that large quantities were available to all countries throughout the world, but, compelled by circumstances, America was starting her various synthetic rubber factories. If that type of work was to go on, scientists would be engaged in finding *ersatz* substitutes for the products of nature when nature's products were sufficiently available for world consumption. That would be a great waste of human effort, because all human effort was needed in the first instance for its own happiness.

When he had said that economic self-sufficiency was necessary, he had been using the term in a restricted sense. He meant the extent to which a country could, within its limited circumstances, develop things like food and clothing—shelter did not enter into it very much. To that extent they must make the necessary effort, within each country, to achieve a certain level. It was a very sorry position to have to depend on another

country sending its ships, day by day, as England depended upon the Argentine for meat and as India awaited ships from America bringing corn. The lecturer admitted that, however, noble her efforts, Britain could never solve her food problem except through exports and imports. He had been thinking principally of India. Out of the vast population of India, 80 per cent were agriculturalists, and it was shameful that such a vast country, with such differing climates and with all the scientific advantages of tractors and fertilizers, should be unable to fill a gap of 10 per cent in her supplies and should be appealing to all the countries of the world to send their ships and their shiploads.

Mr. A. S. AMERASINGHE said the lecturer had suggested that a certain amount of Gandhianism was necessary in the industrial outlook. In his opinion, if they were to consider India as an industrial power they must keep in mind two documents which had been produced—one was the Bombay plan and the other was the Colombo plan. Was India to be content with developing industries to a limited extent—in other words, to confine herself to the Gandhian attitude; or was the trend of her industrial policy to be such that within a few years it would be possible for her not only to produce for the home market but also to compete in the export market? He asked that question because in his view the industrial output of India would determine the prosperity of vast areas of Asia.

With pronounced Gandhianism and a restricted efficiency in industry, would foreign capitalists be willing to invest in India? After all, foreign capital was interested only in a return for the money, and if capitalists found that the competing interests of simple living and Gandhianism affected the interests of industry it was doubtful whether there would be an influx of foreign capital into India.

He suggested that it would be wrong to mix Gandhianism and the sentiment of Gandhianism with purely economic or industrial questions. The ultimate end of industry in India should be to increase the *per capita* income of every member of the Indian society. He submitted that that was the point to bear in mind; and in deciding to increase the *per capita* income of the average Indian peasant most of the conclusions which they had reached in the Bombay plan were fundamental. Did the lecturer think, given a fair run and time, that the estimates in the Bombay plan could not only be visualised but made practical realities?

INDUSTRY AND RESEARCH

Professor DUNNICLIFF enquired by what procedure The National (Research) Laboratories of India rendered assistance to industry. Did they undertake fundamental research into problems of commercial

interest or were they mainly concerned with the solution of specific problems presented to them by progressive companies or by Indian Government departments? Was provision made beyond the bench stage in the Research Establishment for trying out a new or improved process in a small scale plant within the precincts of the National Laboratory or was the proposed scheme passed over to industry to develop, firstly in its own pilot plant and subsequently in the factory on a manufacturing scale?

MR. F. FERRELLY asked whether the lecturer considered there was at last a chance of a reasonable system of trade unionism for inculcation amongst the industrial workers—at least something far better than existed at the moment. Secondly, could he tell them what he considered to be the reactions of India as a whole and its government to Communism and what did he consider to be India's ability to withstand Communism?

Lady CHATTERJEE said she wanted to give the lecturer a few moments respite from the rather gruelling *viva voce* examination he was having. She had found it rather rare in her life—to find a philosopher and an industrialist in the same person. That was an extraordinary combination which brought a great deal of good to mankind, especially if it were combined with a capacity to put one's thoughts into action. She wanted to know how far it was possible to spread the lecturer's ideas among industrialists to make more of them philosophers, because it was essential that that should happen. One saw so much wastage of labour in the world because there was such unhappiness in people's work. This could be overcome if the people in charge took a wider view, such as that taken by the lecturer. It was especially necessary to bring his ideas into operation as quickly as possible in India, because the climate took a great toll of human life there and the expectation of life was so short. If the lecturer's ideas and ideals could be put into practice as speedily as possible it would be all to the good.

HOUSING SHORTAGE

Sir STANLEY REED suggested that the great value of the paper to which they had listened was that it did not view Indian economics from the mechanical standpoint—the piling of loom on loom, ingot on ingot, but in their impact on the daily lives of the community. This invited comment on two major issues—the social conditions of the city dwellers and the food of the people. During his working years in Bombay as chairman of two industrial committees it was brought home that the great need of the industrial proletariat was better housing. Since then there had been a great influx of workers into the city, and owing to the war and other factors no comparable increase in the housing accommodation. Wages

had risen to unparalleled levels ; during his last visit in 1947 it was reported that the wages of the dock labourers had increased by no less than one million pounds a year. Had this brought a proportionate improvement in the living conditions of the community ? With shortages of living accommodation and scarcity and high prices for food that was a question it would be difficult to answer in the affirmative.

Allied with this was the all important question of food. The crucial question of the hour was how to increase the food supply relative to the growth of the population ; the census reports from 1901 to 1951 were terribly significant. In talk with Indian friends he had often suggested that whilst they were keen as mustard on industrial development, few if any of them took a vivid interest in the productivity of the soil. But unless the same brains and capital were directed to the land, were not two things bound to occur ? The standard of living, at which all aimed, could not be raised perhaps not even maintained ; and there would be an inadequate supply of food to provide for the increasing industrial army at prices which the industry could bear. It would therefore be instructive to be told whether Indian thought was moving in the direction of a balanced economy and a reform of the law of inheritance which would permit the consolidation of holdings especially in the ryotwari tracts ; there it was estimated that by consolidation of uneconomic units the outturn could be doubled without any addition of capital and labour.

Dr. MALAIPERUMAN said one of the problems of industry in India was not having the trained, experienced and skilled personnel to give leadership to the development and progress of industry. As most of them knew, there were more overseas students in this country today than at any time before the war or before independence. There were about 2,800 Indian students, of whom about 800 were engaged in technological studies. Quite a number of the students did not find it possible to get admission into various business concerns or factories to undergo training for industry in India. They were very grateful to the Government of India and, indeed, to philanthropists like the lecturer for the various institutional and technological colleges ; but it would be a long time before they were able to find in India all the facilities for training and leadership in business and a large number of their students would continue to travel to Britain for training—and at present the opportunities were inadequate. He had met several students who had found it impossible to get admission to some of the factories, which accepted a restricted number because of their own problems. He appealed to people in industry in this country, and especially to members of the East India Association, many of whom had influence in business, to make it possible for Indian students and those engaged in industry in India to have more scope in training and to find

ways of placing these young men. It was important to find places for them in factories and business concerns so that they could later return to India equipped to help in the development of industry in India.

THE SPIRIT OF GANDHIAN TEACHING

In his replies THE LECTURER dealt first with points made by Sir Stanley Reed and Mr. Amerasinghe, who had doubted the compatibility of the Gandhian philosophy with the realities of modern industrial life. He had already said; he continued, that the aim was not a literal interpretation of the philosophy of a saint but to take the spirit of his teachings. No one would quarrel with him when he said that no true philosopher had been *literally* followed through the ages by his followers. If the test applied was whether they had followed him word for word and in strict obedience to the letter of his laws, the answer was no. Yet because a man did not follow literally the teachings of a saint, that of itself did not make him an unbeliever.

If by industrialization was meant industry being given unrestricted opportunities to build up in any manner it liked, without interference from Government or society—simply producing whatever it wanted to produce and dump the goods on to the market—irrespective of the consequences of the poverty and the other human problems which followed, then the sooner we took leave of industrialization the better. India, with three million handlooms produced cloth, and nearly three-quarter million of it was in his province (Madras). . . At least four or five people were dependent on every hand loom that was worked. In a population of 350 million, with three million hand looms and about four people dependent on each hand loom, indiscriminate importation of automatic looms from Britain or Japan might throw as many as 12 million people out of employment. What would happen to the economy of that country?

If a man was running a diesel engine and someone suggested that an oil engine would cut down his costs, it was simple to scrap the diesel engine, sell it to somebody for a song, and recover in lower running costs the expense of buying the new engine. But that principle of cutting down costs could not be applied regardless of the consequences. Ten hand looms might mean the employment of 50 people, whereas it was supposed that one man would look after 20 automatic looms. What would happen to all the people thrown out of employment? All the time they were tending to think in terms of cutting down costs and to forget the human factor—They were all the time thinking in terms of machinery, output and costs. If, at the same time as producing things cheaply, they also found alternative employment for those displaced or opened new avenues of employment for them, then they were justified in pursuing the policy

of mechanization to its logical conclusion. But, in India, they had to appreciate the human element first and foremost.

He then gave the example of the textile industry. The population of India was, say, approaching 400 million. If the per capita consumption of cloth was 10 yards, that would mean 4,000 million yards ; but even with a production of 3,500 million yards, they found bales and bales of cloth unsold by the manufacturers. The fact that industry produced a lot of cloth cheaply was not enough in itself. It had to be consumed by all strata of the population. But at present it was not consumed for want of purchasing power—and what would happen to the purchasing power of the people if their already meagre standard of living was further reduced by their being thrown out of employment ?

TOWN PLANNING

Turning to the housing problem mentioned by Sir Stanley Reed, the lecturer spoke of Bombay and said that now there were quite a number of mills taking up a great deal of valuable land in Bombay and employing 10,000 to 12,000 workers. In the course of time, when renewing machinery, it would be possible to move these mills to areas 30 or 40 miles away and make the land available for house building. At the moment everybody was putting a mill where industry already existed. Everybody was bringing in another 10,000 workers. The people were rushing into the towns where they were more certain of their rice and other rations. The result was a continuous concentration of labour in the industrial cities, with deteriorating living conditions. Unless there was a certain amount of decentralization of industry, even moving some industries away from the big centres though at considerable cost, the housing problem in Bombay and such places could never be solved. To solve the problem created in Bombay by the existence of a large number of mills, each with thousands of workers, was beyond the capacity of any government. There were literally hundreds of thousands of workers, all concentrated in a small island area like Bombay. Unless industrialization was considered in terms of the mass of the people it would be no good.

When he spoke of foreign capital entering India he meant inviting foreign capital into such industries as could not normally be carried on by local capital and local industry—e.g. the assembly of motor cars or the manufacture of diesel engines or precision instruments. It would be a long time before India and her industrialists could rise to such heights, because they had not had the centuries of training in those things enjoyed by other countries. It would be very difficult to develop that new skill in a short time. It was only in a limited sphere, where the difference

between the Indian technical skill and the skill of the foreigner was really vast, that they would invite the attention of foreign capital ; it would be confined entirely to certain types of industry. Where local capital was forthcoming and where local technical skill was already available—then in those cases he did not think local industry would go “all out” for foreign capital.

In respect to Communist influence the lecturer said he was well aware that, in spite of labour legislation and the fact that the Government had declared many strikes and many activities of labour unions illegal, these activities continued. At times industry was paralysed and many grievous injuries were inflicted on society. But the cure was not a simple one, nor could it be forced upon them too soon. They would ultimately learn the lessons after inflicting damage mostly on those who least deserved it. He could only hope that world conditions would re-adjust themselves so that governments would have the courage to tackle the situation as and when it arose. Unhappily, because of world conditions there were many complications ;

The speaker said he did not think Communism had a very strong hold in South India. In the district of Malabar there was a certain amount of Communist influence, and also in certain areas of the Madras presidency and Hyderabad, but he said by background and tradition the average Indian agriculturalist and worker was very much an individualist and not an easy victim for Communism. The policy of the Government of India was not to allow Communism to rear its ugly head but to look after society in such a way that conditions for Communism did not arise. There were people who looked forward to a sort of disorder in the name of trade unionism in which they could make progress for themselves, but from his experience of industry he did not think such people had much of a hold. He hoped that governmental activity and the attitude of industrialists and a proper healthy development of trade unionism would prevent the onrush of Communism into India.

UNECONOMIC HOLDINGS

Regarding the fragmentation of holdings, everybody was aware of the most unhappy state of affairs, and knew of the importance of making a great effort towards integration and towards making these holdings more economic units where tractors could be put to work. Under such a system a full effort could be made and the full benefits reaped. There was already evidence of the utilization of machinery and of fertilizers and of steps to make available to agriculturalists the knowledge of the administrators in the various towns and villages. By that method the agriculturalist was given the necessary help in choosing the correct type of

seed, in preventing pest and in proper methods of cultivation and storages. India was a vast country and the problem there was much bigger than anyone in this country could imagine.

He hoped that once their troubles with Pakistan were over and once the world situation cleared the national Government, with the leaders whom the people loved, would go forward with great and far-sighted schemes. Unfortunately, there were many factors which prevented the introduction of plans which had been worked out and which were awaiting development. If the world situation improved, and when the elections were over in India the Government would have a mandate from the people and could approach the problem of trade unionism and Communism with greater courage than they were at present displaying.

The research laboratories were more for industrial than for fundamental research. They already had pilot plants in some cases and there was a good link between the laboratories and industry. A number of problems had already been passed to Professor Macbane, at the Poona laboratory. As time went on, and as the struggle for industrialization deepened with competition from other countries, he was sure that Indian industrialization would ultimately benefit from the laboratories.

He realised the doubts which had been expressed about the incompatibility of Gandhism with industrialization. The point he had meant to convey to his audience was that the industrialization of the countries in the East must be approached by learning the lessons of other countries and bearing in mind, in particular, the vast population of those countries. There was no point in achieving total industrialization, and forgetting the human factor.

Thanks to the Lecturer were proposed by SIR LESLIE WILSON who said it was 23 years since he was in India. In those days he had had the temerity to let Gandhi out of prison, which had also raised a number of questions. Some of those questions had been put in a very different way during the discussion that afternoon. Everybody in England recognized the great progress which had been made in India and he congratulated those who had contributed to that end.

THE INDIAN FILM INDUSTRY

By K. M. MODI

AT A JOINT MEETING with The Royal Society of Arts held at the Institution of Electrical Engineers, London, on Thursday, 7th June, 1951, MR. K. M. MODI, President of the Indian Motion Picture Producers'

Association, read a paper on the subject of the Indian Film Industry. The chair was taken by Sir Philip Warter, Chairman of the Associated British Picture Corporation, Ltd.

Mr. MODI said the motion picture industry in India is 38 years old. The first Indian feature film *Raja Harischandra* was produced in 1912 by D. G. Phalke, who is respectfully regarded as the father of our industry. Since his time to the present day, over 1,000 movies and 3,500 talkies have been produced in India. Today the cinema has become the most popular medium of entertainment for the masses and has developed into a major industry. About Rs.40 crores is invested in the industry; 100,000 men and women are employed in it; its products bring in a gross box office return of about Rs. 24 crores a year and it pays to Government coffers annually about Rs.6 crores by way of entertainment tax alone and another Rs.6 crores by way of other taxes.

It is true that until recently Government took little interest in the development of this industry, except to the extent of formulating rules and regulations for censorship and public safety. In 1918 the Indian Cinematograph Act was passed, which provided for censorship of pictures and licensing of theatres. In the early days most of the cinemas showed English films which were well patronized by the educated audiences. In 1927, Government set up an Enquiry Committee. Its recommendations, however, were not implemented. With the advent of the Indian Talkie in 1931, the indigenous industry was placed at a great advantage over foreign films. Thereafter the industry has progressed considerably. The demand for motion picture entertainment increased by leaps and bounds. Production went up and more and more cinemas sprang up all over the country. During the period 1931 to 1940 some of the most outstanding pictures were produced. It cannot, however, be said that the economic conditions in the industry were satisfactory.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER

The Second World War heralded an inflationary boom in the film industry; cinema collections increased and the war-rich investors were attracted to the industry. Production, however, went down, due to the war-time shortages of equipment and materials. More pictures began to be produced after the war. But this did not help to stabilize the basic financial structure of the industry. New problems cropped up and made conditions worse. Production increased, but without a corresponding increase in exhibition facilities, as a virtual ban was placed by Government on theatre construction in the post-war period due to shortage of building materials. Release became difficult, which created a back-log of unreleased pictures every year, thereby leading to severe hardships

to producers. The war-rich investors who, were mostly inexperienced and had plunged into film production with the hope of large and quick profits could not contribute much to the economic stability of the industry. Rising costs, growing labour unrest, increasing controls and restrictions and the communal disturbances in the immediate post-war period upset the conditions in the trade.

Political independence brought with it new problems both for the country and for the industry. The rates of entertainment tax and other taxes were raised mercilessly by the State Governments in their anxiety to meet their increased expenditure. With the partition of the country, the market for Indian pictures was reduced. On the one hand, there was the rising production costs, stringency in the financial market and lack of release facilities. On the other, there were the reduction in import quotas, the relentless increase in taxes, vagaries of censorship, etc., which added to the producer's hardships. The Government of free India realized the importance of developing the industry for the good of the nation. The stress and strain of events was far too heavy for it to absorb. After repeated representations by the trade organizations, Government appointed a Film Enquiry Committee in August, 1949, with Mr. S. K. Patil as its Chairman. This Committee has just submitted its Report and it is hoped that its recommendations, when implemented, will go a long way to assist the stabilized growth of the industry.

STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRY

The film industry in India just as in other countries, functions through its three branches, namely, production, distribution and exhibition. Although they are interrelated in their interests and functions, these branches structurally have separate existence. There is practically no integration of producers, distributors and exhibitors. There are very few instances where the same concern combines in itself the functions of production, distribution and exhibition. For this reason, I feel it is better to give you a picture of the Indian film industry in these three different aspects represented by these three branches.

Perhaps you may be aware that in the volume of its production, India stands second only to the United States, since, on an average, she produces over 250 full-length features a year.

Although the industry has developed as an indigenous industry with Indian capital and labour, it has a serious disability inasmuch as it depends entirely on foreign countries for its raw material and capital goods. Its entire needs of raw film are imported from the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Belgium and Russia, to the tune of over Rs.75

lakhs (£600,000) annually with a total footage exceeding 175 million feet. Similarly, India imports from foreign countries, Rs. 36 lakhs (£300,000) worth of sound equipment and another Rs.41 lakhs (£350,000) worth of projection equipment. This dependence on foreign countries for industrial raw materials and equipment has placed the industry in a precarious position at times, as was demonstrated during and after the war, because the imports of foreign goods are regulated more by considerations of foreign exchange and other exigencies than merely by the needs of the trade. Manufacture of raw film and equipment in India, therefore, seems to be a prime necessity. Possibilities of this are being explored, but difficulties in capital formation, want of adequate technical personnel, experienced and skilled workers, proper climatic conditions, lack of facilities for research to keep abreast of developments in other countries, etc., are some of the obstacles which have to be encountered before any scheme can fructify.

STUDIOS AND TECHNICAL FACILITIES

Film production is chiefly localized in the cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Poona and Kolhapur in the State of Bombay, and Salem and Coimbatore in the south, are smaller centres of production. There are in all 60 studios with about 140 sound stages and 38 processing laboratories. Twenty-three studios are located in Bombay, 14 in Calcutta and 12 in Madras. The average annual output per studio is four feature films. Judging from the present conditions, the studio space is adequate to meet the requirements of Indian film production, but there is much scope for improvement in equipment and technical facilities. There are no equipment or facilities for producing and processing pictures in colour, and hence all the pictures produced are in black and white. Visitors from other countries have told me that Indian pictures show a very high standard of technique and presentation, which speaks well for the skill and dexterity of the Indian technician, despite the lack of facilities for training and research available to him. There are difficulties in regard to renovations and large scale replacements due to shortage of building materials, difficulty in producing modern equipment from foreign countries, lack of expert advice on their use, inadequate returns on capital investment, etc.

The studios are used by the owners for their own productions and in most cases they are also hired out to independent producers, who do not have their own studios. The independents are responsible for about 60 per cent of the annual output.

PRODUCERS AND FINANCE

There are about 300 producers including studio-owners. They have their own concerns and produce pictures under their own banners. A large number of producers are concentrated in Bombay which is responsible for 60 per cent of the annual output. Most of the producers do not invest their own money but depend upon borrowed finance. There are no special financing institutions ; nor are usual banking channels open to them. They have, therefore, to depend upon two other sources, viz., the individual financier and the distributor. The financiers advance money at high rates of interest and not infrequently secure a controlling interest in production. The distributors either finance the entire production or advance money against the purchase of exploitation rights for particular territories during the time the picture is under production. In advancing money, the reputation of this producer, the cast, the standing of the director and music director, etc., determine the value of the picture to the financier or the distributor. This system of financing production has brought in its train many evils. Exorbitant terms of finance inflate cost of production. To raise the probable box office value of the picture and to secure his position, the financier also demands the casting of popular stars. This has unnecessarily raised the stock of the few " stars " and has made them work in several pictures simultaneously. The industry has suggested that the creation of a film financing corporation on the lines of the British Film Finance Corporation will obviate many of the present financial difficulties. The Patil Committee is reported to have recommended the setting up of an organization for film finance.

LANGUAGE AND THEME

The pictures produced are in regional languages of the country. They are predominantly in Hindi or Hindustani, which is the national language. A majority of Hindi pictures are produced in Bombay, while Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam pictures are produced in Madras, and Bengali pictures at Calcutta. Most of the pictures deal with romantic themes and stories of Indian social life and are known as " Socials " ; but a good number of pictures are based on stories derived from Indian mythology or religious books and such pictures are known as " Mythologicals " or " Devotionals." A third type is known as " Stunts," which are action dramas. A few pictures are also produced with the stories drawn from important historical episodes and are known as " Historicals." The " Socials " are popular in industrial centres and urban areas, while the " Mythologicals " draw larger audiences from the working class and from small towns and rural areas. A unique feature in these pictures is that they all have a good deal of music and dancing, whether they are

comedy, drama, mythological or historical. Music directors and some good singers, who give the play-back for the songs have, therefore, an important role in Indian film production.

Directors, music-directors, well-known technicians and most of the artistes do not usually have term contracts with any studio or any producing concern, but sign contracts for individual pictures. The top-ranking and very popular stars have engagements in five to ten pictures at a time and consequently appear in between six and twelve pictures every year. This has not only affected the quality of their performance, but has led to increase in the cost of production. Some of the popular stars are not able to give more than one or two shooting days in a month for a picture, with the result that pictures take a long time for completion. Simultaneous appearance in several pictures also upsets production schedules. A picture generally takes six to nine months for completion, which, in the absence of this free-lancing, would take only three to four months. This has constituted a serious problem for producers in the post-war period.

Absence of recruiting agencies and casting bureaux, lack of facilities for training new talent and the stigma attached to the profession, have made the present shortage of stars acute. The problem, therefore, needs to be tackled from all these angles.

CENSORSHIP

Every picture has to be censored before it is exhibited. Till the end of 1950, pictures were censored by State Government Boards. This gave rise to innumerable difficulties. A picture certified in one State was sometimes banned in another and *vice versa*. After repeated requests from the Trade, censorship has now become a Union Government concern. There is now a Central Board of Film Censors situated at Bombay with regional offices at the three important centres of production, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The regional offices examine the pictures produced in their respective regions and issue certificates valid for the whole of India. Exhibition of a certified picture can be suspended for a period of two months, if it is likely to disturb the peace of the place where it is exhibited. If a longer ban is considered necessary by a State Government the Central Government has to sanction it. An appeal from the Censor Board's decisions will lie to the Central Government. Pictures are certified as either good for exhibition to adults only or for universal exhibition. All pictures are examined by the Censors from the Indian social standard, but a certain amount of latitude is allowed in foreign pictures, which depict the social life of other countries.

DISTRIBUTION

The distribution branch of the trade is represented by about 900 distributing concerns scattered all over the sub-continent. A few concerns have branch organizations. Producers themselves, with the exception of a few, are not directly interested in distribution. As they are constantly in need of funds; they prefer to sell the rights of exploitation to others for various territories or to obtain advances against those rights. The vastness of the areas and the need for quick and cheap transport facilities have made it necessary for larger distributors to appoint sub-agents or re-sell their rights to other parties for smaller areas, than to operate with a network of branches. These factors explain the existence of such a large number of distributors.

The distributor often plays the dual role of a distributing agent as well as that of a financier. This dual role is played mostly by the larger concerns. Distribution is undertaken by four varying methods.

The rights of distribution are leased on a territorial basis. By convention the whole sub-continent of India is divided into five distinct areas which are known as "circuits."

Hindi pictures have an all-India market, while the regional language pictures are popular in their respective regions. The first three circuits provide the largest market for Hindi pictures, the fourth predominantly for Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam pictures, and the fifth for Bengali pictures.

BOOKINGS

The distributors book pictures with exhibitors generally on a percentage basis, the average rate for first run pictures varying between 50 to 60 per cent. In small stations, pictures are booked on a fixed rental basis. The cities of Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Delhi are the four key cities, where the pictures are released first in most cases. Before the war, when there were no boom conditions for the exhibitors, the distributors used to demand from them a guarantee of a minimum sum per week. During the latter part of the last war, and in subsequent years, this practice stopped in the city of Bombay and other important cities and industrial centres where the number of theatres was limited, but the demand for release was great. In these places, the exhibitor does not usually book a picture on a percentage or a minimum guarantee basis, but rents the cinema house for a fixed amount to the distributor, who takes the risk of failure or the advantage of success of the picture. Wherever the pre-war or the former system exists, pictures are booked individually and blind. In such cases, hold-over terms are also specified. The small town exhibitor is guided by the reports about the run of the

picture in the key cities in entering into exhibition contracts with distributors.

EXHIBITION

The exhibition trade is represented by three types of cinemas, the permanent, the temporary and the touring. The regular cinemas with permanent structures belong to the former type. Temporary or quasi-permanent cinemas are those which do not comply with all the rules and regulations required for a permanent cinema, while touring cinemas are mobile units which shift their camps from place to place. The temporary and touring cinemas play an important part in our country due to the absence of well-built static cinemas in a large number of villages. There are nearly 3,000 cinemas, out of which about 800 belong to the temporary and touring category. Looking to the country's vastness and large population and to the fact that the cinema is the main source of entertainment for the masses, this number is very small. The present number works out at about eight cinemas for a million of the population, which when compared with that of other countries is very low; there are about 247 cinemas to a million people in France, 187 in Belgium, 152 in Czechoslovakia, 125 in the United Kingdom and in the United States. From the point of view of the trade also, the present number is inadequate for the release of over 250 features which are produced annually.

All the cinemas are owned by individuals or by companies, mostly private. The capital invested is entirely Indian except for the two cinemas one in Bombay and the other in Calcutta, owned by M.G.M. The total capital invested in cinemas is estimated at Rs.25 crores (£20,000,000). There are about 30 theatre circuits operating about 200 cinemas, the largest of them being the Western India Theatres Limited, with a chain of over 30 theatres, which has also distribution offices and a studio.

Most of the theatres show exclusively Indian pictures, and have two shows daily, except on Sundays and other holidays, when they have extra matinee performances. In major cities like Bombay, the theatres have three shows per day. American and British films are shown exclusively in a few theatres in the cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and Bangalore. The programmes in cinemas showing Indian films generally consist of one feature film only, its length varying between 11,000 feet and 15,000 feet. At present, the cinemas are required to show either newsreels or documentaries approved by Government. In key cities and important industrial centres, the first run houses show Indian films for a number of weeks. The distributors either stipulate a hold over figure for this purpose or boom the theatre for a specified

number of weeks. In smaller towns, programmes generally change once or twice a week.

The average seating capacity of a theatre is estimated at 680, but in the south this is as high as 900. The average total daily attendance is estimated at about two millions. Admission prices vary from place to place, ranging from 2 annas to Rs.3. With the exception of the lowest class seats having admission prices of 2 annas or 3 annas in some places, all admissions are taxed. The entertainment tax levied by the State Governments ranges between 12½ per cent to 75 per cent of the admission rates. Mostly a slab system is followed, just as in the United Kingdom, wherein the principle of progressive taxation is applied.

The construction and working of cinemas is governed by certain government and municipal regulations, important of which are the Cinematograph Rules, enforced by the State Governments under the Cinematograph Act, 1918.

The field of educational documentaries and other short films is not yet well developed in India and the needs of educational institutions are largely met by imported foreign films. During the period of the war and after the independence of the country Government film units produced newsreels and documentaries, which are to be shown in cinemas compulsorily. Although this has led to a certain amount of State monopoly in this particular field, it has to be conceded that Government's Films Division has done some good work and, if it is canalized in the right direction by giving incentive to private enterprise also, Government would have helped development of the industry in this sphere.

TAXATION

The film industry is the most heavily taxed industry in India today. The first and foremost levy is the entertainment tax which ranges between 12½ to 75 per cent of admission rates. India is a poor country where the cinema is the cheapest and the most popular medium of entertainment for the people, and the present heavy taxation has become oppressive. Conditions here in the United Kingdom also may not be far different from those in India on this question and I am aware that producers have been agitating for a reduction. This may be a common grievance.

Besides the entertainment tax, the industry has to pay numerous other taxes and levies like import duty on raw film and equipments, theatre tax, octroi duty, sales tax, rental on Government approve films, etc. The aggregate of these taxes comes to about 50 per cent of the gross box office receipts : add to this the income tax and super tax, the financial difficulties of the producer, the general depression and unemployment,

mounting costs and falling income, and the present financial set-up of the industry becomes very bleak indeed.

FOREIGN MARKETS

At present the overseas market for Indian films is very limited. They are exhibited in Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, East Africa, Mauritius, Aden, Borneo, Sumatra, Federated Malay States, Singapore and Fiji Islands, and to an extent in the Middle East. Producers have not so far been able to exploit other territories, probably because the story material and subject of the Indian movie are such as to be appreciated only by people who have much in common with the Indian ways of life, customs, manners and culture. A few pictures have been shown in western countries also, though not on any large commercial scale. I believe that it should be possible for Indian producers to shoot pictures specially for the foreign markets with subjects that will be understood and appreciated in other countries.

The foreign films imported and shown in India are mainly American and British, the majority of them, of course, coming from Hollywood. They are generally distributed by Indian offices of foreign concerns such as M.G.M., R.K.O., Paramount, etc. The Western India Theatres Ltd. is the largest Indian concern, which has a foreign films division for distribution of foreign pictures. Due to considerations of foreign exchange, certain restrictions have been placed by Government in the value of imports of foreign films. Generally speaking, foreign films enjoy a free market in India and English films are well appreciated by the more educated audiences. They are shown in important cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and Bangalore.

CONCLUSION

Although the industry has progressed a great deal, there is yet considerable scope for improvement and expansion. We have a cultural heritage and a wealth of material for picturization which have not yet been fully tapped. Technically, we have not yet kept pace with the United States or the United Kingdom in the production of colour films. We have yet to try our hands at the manufacture of raw film and equipment required by the industry.

There is considerable scope for the expansion of the home market, apart from the question of gaining a foothold in foreign countries. I firmly believe that in the expansion of the overseas market for films, a country should be guided not only by the trade point of view, but also by the point of view of art and culture. The film would be the best cultural ambassador of a nation. An exchange of cultural films between

the various countries should help a great deal in a world struggling for peace.

I am glad to tell you that, despite the puritanical views of a section of our national leadership, the Government of India have of late been taking a keen interest in the progress and development of the film industry. I have already told you about the appointment of a Film Enquiry Committee by Government. The industry and its organizations are alive to the developments in India and abroad and constant efforts at co-ordination and cooperation are made. In a vast country like ours, we naturally have a good number of trade organizations in the different parts of the country, among which the more prominent are the Motion Picture Society of India, Bombay ; Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association, Bombay ; Bengal Motion Picture Association, Calcutta ; and South Indian Film Chamber of Commerce, Madras. With a view to co-ordinating the work of the different organizations and acting as a liaison between Government and the industry, the various organizations have recently formed the Film Federation of India, which will act as the spokesman of the entire Indian film industry in future.

All these factors are conducive to the progress of the Indian film industry which, I consider, is on the threshold of a new era, despite the dismal conditions of depression now pervading it.

In introducing the lecturer the CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Modi was the head of the largest picture producing firm in India. He started at the age of 16 as assistant projectionist. This was the right end of the industry to start in, and he had become an acknowledged authority on that industry.

At the conclusion of the lecture Mr. MODI replying to the Chairman said he thought that there were reasonable Indian markets for English language pictures in the higher class. A good picture of the type of *The Winslow Boy* would bring about £5,000 to the producer.

In reply to Miss Ouwerkerk, Mr. Modi said that the Government controlled documentary films, and no independent efforts were allowed. As the Government had their own producing unit they did not encourage the enterprising producer to produce short films or educational films. The trade had been fighting all the time for that. He did not think that India feature films would be a commercial proposition to the producers to send to this country. They could be sent only for private shows.

In answer to an enquiry whether either American or British companies making documentaries in India would be welcomed, Mr. Modi said that

while the Government always stated that it was open for producers to come and make pictures, what happened was that having their own institution the Government did not encourage such enterprise. Independent producers could not go out and produce shorts, because the exhibitors would not buy them. They had to take films compulsorily from Government and also to pay for them. The rates and everything else were fixed by Government according to the different cinemas. At present no progress had been made in India in the provision of television. He did not think they would have it for another two years to come. The average Indian production costs today was in the neighbourhood of £35,000.

In answer to Mrs. Winifred Holmes, Mr. Modi said that the industry did not consider it an infringement of their production rights to have foreign companies making films in their country.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS: RAJASTHAN DEVELOPMENTS

A JOINT MEETING of the Association with the Over-Seas League was held at Over-Seas House, St. James's, S.W.1, on Tuesday, 29th May, 1951, Mr. DAVID R. HARDMAN, MP, Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Education, presiding. Lt.-Commander S. O. Pande, gave the address on Educational Experiments in India, with special reference to Rajasthan reproduced in the July issue of THE ASIATIC REVIEW (pp. 217-225).

The CHAIRMAN, introducing the lecturer, said that Commander Pande was educated at the Central College, Allahabad, and was a Master of Science. He was for a time Professor of Mathematics at the Benares Hindu University and was Hon. Secretary of the organization for the collection of funds for the University. Later he became Principal of the Birla Intermediate College at Pilani and Secretary of the Birla Education Trust. This trust was founded in 1901 by the family of Mr. G. D. Birla and from the documents which he had it was obvious that the Birla Trust had been doing some amazing educational work. There was the Birla College for Arts teaching up to the degree of Master of Arts, a similar college for science, and a college of commerce and another of engineering in addition to high schools for boys and for girls. There was also a Montessori School attached to the Birla Trust, five primary schools for boys and two for girls, and 75 village schools. One might mention in addition the Birla Central Library and the fact that the Trust administered certain other educational establishments.

After the reading of the paper the CHAIRMAN said that he was afraid having concentrated so much of his interest on education in England and Wales, which was a big enough job in these days, he knew very little about educational experiments in India, particularly in rural India, at the primary and secondary stages of school education; so that this paper had been one of very great interest to him. It was obvious from the 22 years Commander Pande had been with the Birla Trust that he had seen some extraordinarily interesting and profitable experiments.

SIR JOHN SARGENT'S VIEWS

Sir JOHN SARGENT said that Commander Pande had given a very clear and almost exciting account of what was perhaps the most important educational experiment carried out in India during the last 14 or 15 years. He was also glad that Commander Pande had mentioned another interesting experiment, the Vidya Bhawan at Udaipur. When he (Sir John) first went to Pilani it was not easily accessible from a railway station and he went for miles by car mostly through a desert. He would never forget his first sight of the oasis of Pilani, nor would he ever forget the hospitality with which he was entertained.

It was a fascinating experiment and it had sometimes been said to him that if only there were enough Birlas, the whole of India's educational problem would be solved. He would express a very serious doubt as to whether that would in fact be so, but he wished all the same that there were more people in India with the munificence of Mr. Birla and the experience of the lecturer. Commander Pande had been too modest to make it clear that he combined in his person the authority of the Secretaries of the Rockefeller Trust, the Nuffield Foundation and the Carnegie Trust and he disposed of funds comparable with theirs. Mr. Birla was probably one of the richest men in the world and his enthusiasm for the cause of education was tremendous.

THE SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS

Commander Pande had referred to a report associated with the speaker's own name in which an estimate was made of the time it would take to put India on an approximate level with the more progressive countries. The estimate of 40 years had recently been reduced by a committee presided over by Mr. B. G. Kher to 16 years. The original period was put at 40 years not for financial or economic reasons, as many people thought, but as the result of a simple mathematical calculation as to how long it would take to produce enough teachers of the calibre thought necessary to put India on the educational map with other countries. A not very elaborate standard was prescribed; it was thought that they

should at least be matriculates—it must be remembered that Indian matriculation was at least a year below the standard of matriculation in this country—and that they should have two years' training. The Central Advisory Board of Education was optimistic enough to suppose that with better salaries—again a big supposition—and better attractions one-third of the boys and girls leaving high school would enter the teaching profession. Some people might well think this an absurdly optimistic assumption. The Board was satisfied that it could not conceive of the production of the teachers needed to enable every boy and girl to receive the minimum education to fit them for citizenship, estimated to be eight years' schooling, in less than 35 to 40 years. He would be interested to hear from Commander Pande that this was wrong; nobody could be more glad to be proved wrong in this matter than himself, but what was the solution which had now been devised which would provide India with adequate teachers in so much shorter a period than had previously been thought possible?

He was sure everybody would agree that the only thing which really mattered was teaching. Any fool could produce an educational plan, and a great many fools had done so, but if any plan was to be successful, nothing mattered but the teaching, and if Indian children were to have the deal they deserved, they should have the right kind of teachers. If the Government of India, or enthusiastic educationists, thought to short-circuit the process by adopting a lower standard, they were not doing any service to India and were shutting their eyes to hard facts.

He would congratulate Commander Pande on his good fortune in being in a position to carry out marvellous developments and on having the backing of a great and enthusiastic educationist, but he was anxious to know how far these experiments would help or inspire the Governments of the States of India to overcome the problem with which they were faced. He was told when he was in India last year that in one State 22,000 schools were going to be opened during the next ten years. In reply to his question as to how it was going to be done, he was told that as there would not be trained teachers available the most important men in each village would be made the headmasters and a training college on wheels, would be sent round to give these gentlemen 10 weeks' courses which were to convert them into certificated teachers. This did not seem like education to him and he hoped Commander Pande would lend his vast experience of education to counteracting any tendency in his country to cheapen education. There had been enough examples in past years of the power for ill of misapplied education and anybody who had done any educational work at all would agree that a cheap education was usually nasty.

He was very glad to have heard so precise an account of one of the educational experiments which was worth attention, not only in India but throughout the world.

AN OASIS IN THE DESERT

Dr. BHATTACHARYA said that he was a victim of Indian education in the sense that he took his matriculation and then looked round for a job which he could not find. He took his intermediate and his degrees and he was still striving to find a suitable place somewhere.

Education in India so far had turned out to be for a particular purpose, or to turn out certain types of people and as the British régime gave place to the Indian regime things changed and it was hoped for the better ; but even to this day the main function of the educational system was the same and it was still a problem for educated Indians to find a post where their education would be useful to them. He would stress that the educational system must have practical application, many of the subjects taught had no bearing whatever on everyday life.

Education was certainly designed to further the spiritual progress of man and he would like to see people growing up who could tackle the problem of reconciling the theory and practice of education. Thousands of scholars were sent to the United States and to the United Kingdom for technical training which afterwards was useless to them. It was said that the scheme was devised because the Indian Government had sterling balances. The students had difficulty in finding posts afterwards.

He was very much impressed by what he had heard about Pilani. It was an oasis in the desert but not much more than that. If its work could be extended on a larger scale it would be very beneficial. Mr. Birla had amassed money all over India and might feel that he was under an obligation to use it for India.

With regard to the question of teachers, there was no incentive for them. In a primary school to-day a teacher would receive Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 *per mensem*, whereas the servant of the school received 80 to Rs. 100. He would rather be a chaprassi than a teacher. How could India become educated in such circumstances ? The problem had to be tackled by many people and unless there was some central organization to handle all these things individual effort was wasted.

TEACHERS FOR THE VILLAGES

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK thought that the real problem was how to get teachers to go to the villages and to stay there, and secondly how, with the enormous and rapidly growing population, the boys and girls could be educated sufficiently rapidly on some of the most fundamental subjects.

He had always found, from the days when he was dealing with indentured labour in South Africa, that the average peasant was a very intelligent person, and if one talked to him in a practical way about the things he knew, he would respond at once. There would be circulating libraries, radio talks or cinemas, but if the peasant was to participate in those activities they must be practical and enter into the hearts of the people and elicit from them the best that was in them. Without this, any education scheme would not get very far. The one thing to be remembered in dealing with children was that one was not only pumping material into them but drawing out from them the richness which they had inherited from their surroundings and from their own experience.

He had never been to Pilani but from what he had heard he had a very great admiration for the work and the effort there. He knew Dr. Montessori slightly and had a great appreciation of the magnificent work she had been doing for many decades. He knew Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta and his enthusiasm for education and what a fine dynamic force he had been, and could understand how the Pilani scheme was successful to the point it had reached. But that kind of thing would have to be multiplied in many parts of India, for people who were not going in for education merely as a career but because they had a strong and urgent call to bring out the best in themselves and those whom they were going to teach.

The CHAIRMAN said that as an educationist he had been sitting very quietly because some of the things which had been said would be dynamite in educational discussion circles here. It was interesting to hear the remarks about holding children, as they grew up, to village life and to remember what Sir John Sargent was at one time doing in Essex. In his own connections with education in a much smaller and less wealthy area they had had to strive with exactly that problem.

Mr. Polak referred to the need for the practical in education and that might very well follow from what Sir John Sargent had said about the production of the good teacher and the refusal to lower standards, but all he would say was that perhaps the best solution was to have a new kind of curriculum in the training of teachers.

AFTER MATRICULATION

Dr. DUNNICLIFF said that sound, primary, middle and high school education, which had been dealt with by the previous speakers, was of the greatest importance as it formed the basis of the student's intellectual, social and professional future.

His association with school education was relatively small, but, as scientific adviser to the late Sir George Anderson in the Punjab particularly

in connection with the conversion of high schools into intermediate colleges, he had many opportunities of discussing school organization and objectives with teachers.

The intermediate college comprised the two "high" school classes, finishing with the matriculation examination, and the two lower University classes which prepared the student for the intermediate examination of a University in Arts or Science.

Here was the place where thoughts of a future career should arise. After the intermediate examination, selected students entered either a degree college, which provided the usual subjects for a B.A. or B.Sc. degree (and ultimately possibly a Master's degree), or joined a professional college to study medicine, commerce, engineering, veterinary science, or whatever the student intended to make his career, if in fact he had made up his mind at all at that stage. One so frequently found that the Indian student did not think seriously about his future career until too late. Dr. Dunnicliff often enquired from school and college teachers what was being done to stimulate the boys to consider what they would like to do when the time came for them to earn their living and support a family. Usually he was informed that nothing was being done in this direction. One naturally wished to avoid the mistake of specialising at too early an age, but he had always felt that periodical friendly talks to students about a number of possible professions at any time after the Middle School period would be of great thought-provoking help to them.

"CAREERS FOR MEN"

With this in mind, when, in 1936, he was appointed Principal of the Government College, Lahore, which at one time had over 1,300 men and women students on the rolls, he made an effort to tackle this problem by organizing a series of talks on "Careers For Men."

A number of very distinguished persons kindly gave the addresses, e.g. a High Court judge, spoke about the legal profession, a senior Army or R.A.F. Officer of a Service career, or a senior Police Officer on his own Service; an Indian Civilian on administrative posts, a doctor or a chemist on their respective professions, and the Director of Public Instruction on the prospects of teachers or educational executive officers, and so on.

The lecturers were asked to speak on the demands of the profession, qualifications for admission, duties involved and future prospects, including a general idea of emoluments to be expected. Questions were permitted after the discussions, and appreciation of these series was shown by large attendances, which in all cases were voluntary.

Dr. Dunnicliff did not know what the results were, as he left the College to go to the Government of India shortly after the 1939-45 war commenced,

and his successor did not continue the scheme. He was, however, convinced that the idea was on the right lines, and should be pursued. Too many young men were unable to find suitable employment as they did not possess qualifications demanded by potential employers. This he felt was due to omissions in early educational policy with respect to students.

Thirteen years ago few Indian women contemplated earning their living in the higher walks of life. It was a matter of happy augury that this phase was passing—and this applied to Muslim women also—but the speaker had long hoped for this development and, in 1938, commenced a series of talks on "Careers for Women," the lecturers being ladies who willingly undertook to assist in this pioneer work.

THE NEED FOR PURPOSE

Too many students having taken an Indian degree proceeded abroad without having any definite business, technical or professional goal or employment in mind. In the U.K. or America or elsewhere they usually obtained a degree, and if one enquired "what next?" would reply "I must look out for a job." If one further enquired "what kind of a job?" they generally had no idea. This was fundamentally wasteful and wrong, and a definite effort should be made to guide the student at a comparatively early age into thinking what he would like to do when he has to face the battle of life.

If the high schools and colleges gave more attention to these facts, Dr. Dunnicliff felt that it would give students a greater regard for their educational Institutions and develop more *esprit de corps* amongst those attending them.

He felt that Commander Pande had not taken sufficient cognizance of the relapse to illiteracy of many of those leaving school after the middle classes, and to a lesser extent even after attending the "high" classes. Perhaps he had not had an opportunity of observing the heavy percentage of wastage at all stages of the educational ladder, and how great was the need to take steps to reduce it.

There is a constant and pressing demand in India for qualified men to develop and serve in all branches of her growing industries and learned professions, and Dr. Dunnicliff urged that if a sustained and general effort were made in educational institutions to guide students to think of definite objectives for themselves, the employers of all classes of personnel would find an answer to one of their major problems, recruitment, and there would be a far smaller percentage of young men of reasonably good, or even high academic qualifications who were at a "loose end" and virtually unemployable because they had nothing definite to offer.

COMMANDER PANDE'S REPLY

Commander PANDE, in reply, expressed his appreciation of the various contributions to the discussion. Since the report mentioned by Sir John Sargent was issued the difficulties had increased and he doubted whether the Government of India would be able to carry out the first report. The Government promised huge grants to increase the facilities, some of the State Governments took on the work but the central Government could not make their promised contributions and the work was not being carried out with the speed with which it was started.

There were difficulties with regard to teachers. The U.P. Government had started what they called mobile training schools by sending teachers out from training colleges into the country to organize three months' courses of teaching during the vacations, some of the village teachers were given training; the courses were repeated from time to time. He could not say how far the experiment was likely to succeed. One thing he felt was that they might not be able to educate the country during the period which had been outlined, but it would be possible to make the population literate by the efforts of the headmen in the villages. There was now adult suffrage, there would be 200 million voters in the next election and if they were not literate one did not know how they would cast their votes.

With regard to Dr. Bhattacharya's criticism, this was answered by Dr. Dunncliff. There were great drawbacks in the present system and these would be improved. An effort would be made to see that the boys got the type of education they required. When they were grown up, they selected their own careers and at times they took to things which they were not able to pursue with any benefit to themselves or to the community, but something had to be done. The institutions at Pilani had grown up from something very small to include boys from Travancore, Madras, Kashmir and Nepal, almost from all over the country and the Birlas were extremely generous. They had started many colleges and schools were being run in other parts of the country. He did not mention these institutions because they were outside the purview of his paper.

There was one more point to which he might refer and that was his remarks about the British effort. All he wanted to do was to outline the task before the country; the result of the British schemes was very small. There could have been a larger effort in primary education, and he felt that more could have been done as far as literacy was concerned. When he came to this country he found that the Government was responsible for the education of every child from the age of 5 to 18. In India there was nothing of this kind and he did not think that what had been

achieved here could be achieved in India for many years to come. All he meant to convey was to show the state of education at the time when the country was handed over.

Sir SRINIVASA SARMA proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman. He paid a tribute to the generosity of the Birla family in educational concerns and was sure that the audience had enjoyed the account of what was being done in Pilani. He hoped it would encourage others to do similar work. Since power was transferred there had been some who imagined that Britain had washed her hands of India, but the fact that Mr. Hardman had come to take the chair amidst his many Governmental duties was an indication of this country's sustained interest in the welfare of India. He would therefore express grateful thanks to the Chairman for presiding as well as to Commander Pande for his paper.

WHAT THE EAST CAN TEACH THE WEST

THE SECOND PARTY of the year, given by the Association, for students from India, Pakistan, and Burma was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies on Friday, 29th June, 1951, with Dr. C. E. Joad as the chief guest.

Sir FREDERICK JAMES welcomed Dr. Joad and said that everyone present would be most pleased to hear a short address from this dynamic controversialist.

Dr. JOAD said that it would be impudence on his part to talk on India, Pakistan, and Burma, about which countries he knew very little, if anything at all ; but he would speak of England and the predicament in which she found herself as he knew quite a lot about this subject having lived in the country for 59 years.

We in England, the Professor said, were living through an age of transition and revolution ; power and wealth were being transferred from one class to another, but the process was so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. Britain had to accustom herself to a new position in the world, one more modest than she had hitherto occupied as the head of a great empire. To the west America, to the east Russia loomed like two great mill-stones between which we were in danger of being crushed, not so much in the military as in the cultural field. America had inundated the country with her films, radio, food, cosmetics, etc., and Russia was rapidly spreading her ideologies. The youth of Britain were growing to maturity with a sense of hopelessness in the future in an atmosphere dominated by the nightmare fear of a third world war.

The chief cause which had contributed to placing us in this predicament was that our power over material things had far outstripped our wisdom. Science had given us the mastery over so much, but in ethics and politics we found ourselves no further forward than the ancient Greeks. The aeroplane for instance, had been discovered and developed by supermen, but it was the ape in man which had gained control. It was this inability to curb the power given man by his mastery over science that was leading western civilization to the brink of a horrifying cataclysm.

Nationalism was another great curse which beset the world. In spite of all the talk of world nationhood, states clung more fiercely than ever to their individuality and sacrificed neither power nor prestige in the common cause; and the third contributing factor to the gloomy picture was the lack of religion in the west. While our "know how" grew and our technical ability expanded our spiritual life remained stationery, and indeed, seemed to shrink. For the first time there was a generation growing to maturity who had no religion; neither did they feel the need for any. Since no provision was made to sublimate this need they turned naturally to a blind worship of the State and the dictator.

Professor Joad went on to say that he thought the east might now help the western civilizations, which were in danger of destroying themselves, by teaching them the value of the spiritual outlook which was so prevalent in India and Pakistan. The east had never gone out proselytizing as the west had done, and it would be a very valuable contribution to the world if people in the west could learn about and understand the religions of the east and the message of salvation they had to convey. Moreover, the sub-continent could mediate between the Americans and the Russians in the Commonwealth of Nations, acting as a buffer, and so prevent the world falling asunder into two armed camps. An excess of nationalism was the defeat of religion, and Dr. Joad thought that the world might yet be saved if, helped by the peoples of the East, they regained a spiritual outlook on the universe.

Some lively questioning followed, and Dr. Joad answered in his inimitable and witty way. One of the guests asked if in the light of what he had said, the Professor advocated that India and Pakistan should send religious missionaries to the west. Dr. Joad answered in the affirmative.

Mr. H. BATSHI thanked Professor Joad on behalf of the students and said they deemed it a great privilege to have heard his remarks. The Professor and his works were very well known in India and Pakistan, and should Dr. Joad ever find time to visit those countries he would be assured of a great and warm welcome.

THE EIGHTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1951

DURING THE YEAR the papers read to the Association maintained their standard as authoritative expositions of events in India, Pakistan, and Burma and of the problems facing these countries. The Council places on record its appreciation of the valuable services so willingly and freely given by the lecturers and chairmen.

In the world of today economic questions demand the closest attention of Governments and their peoples. In one form or another these questions may be said to have preponderated in the Association's proceedings. Early in the year (June) Mr. G. W. Tyson, editor of the Calcutta weekly *Capital*, gave a skilful analysis of the effect on the structure of Indo-British commerce of the great changes in the trade relations of Britain and India consequent on the transfer of power in 1947. In April, within a few days of the end of the year, Mr. Maurice Watt, of the Commonwealth and East Asia Department of the F.B.I., who had recently visited India and Pakistan, surveyed U.K. trade with those countries. On the whole both Mr. Tyson and Mr. Watt took a moderately hopeful view of the future, given reasonable encouragement of British co-operation in industrial enterprise. Both also bore testimony to the cordiality and friendliness of the relations between British residents in India and Pakistan and their peoples. This testimony was confirmed by Sir Percival Griffiths in March who covered a wide field in a lecture entitled "Three and a half years after." Sir Percival has repeatedly placed the Association under a debt of gratitude for his impartial observations based on an intimate and first-hand knowledge of conditions prevailing in the sub-continent.

In September, Sir Kikabhai Premchand, widely known as an authority on Indian finance, read a paper on "The economic position of India," a title which he had used under widely different circumstances when he lectured to the Association more than 20 years ago. Sir Kikabhai, while appreciating the work done by the Government of India since independence in maintaining the fabric of the administration in conditions of great difficulty, was critical of its economic and financial measures. This and other contributions to the Association's proceedings from nationals of the sub-continent show that the will to criticize what are regarded as the failings and shortcomings of those in authority has not lost its vigour with the coming of independence. Questions of economic policy also occupied an important place in the survey given in November by Mr. A. A. Hayles, editor of the *Madras Mail*, on "South India under the new dispensation." He dwelt at considerable length on prohibition and its consequences, and had much to say on the food shortage throughout south India and the measures taken by the Government to guard

against an outbreak of famine. This question of India's food supplies frequently recurred at other meetings and was stressed by Lord Ogmores, then Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, when he presided at the lecture by Mr. Watt.

The aims and objects of the Colombo Plan for the promotion of the economic and social development of the countries of south and south-east Asia were outlined in January by Mr. A. C. B. Symon, Assistant Under-Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office, who spoke with full knowledge of the conferences at which the Plan was evolved. Most appropriately the Chair was taken at this meeting by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, who was then on the point of relinquishing the post of High Commissioner for Ceylon in London to become Home Member of his Government in Colombo. At a joint meeting with the Royal Society of Arts in February, Mr. S. J. Wright, Consulting Engineer to the Royal Agricultural Society, spoke on some of the problems of agricultural development in Pakistan, with especial reference to the employment of modern methods, including the use of tractors. This meeting was appropriately held under the chairmanship of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, His Excellency Habib Rahimtoola, who after the reading of the paper, gave a short account of the agricultural development programme of his Government.

Over all these discussions, however, there hung the dark cloud of the Kashmir dispute, and its effect in preventing that full and cordial co-operation between India and Pakistan which is essential to the economic well-being of both countries. This subject was frequently referred to at our meetings, and early in January an afternoon was devoted to its discussion. Sir Godfrey Davis, a former Judge of the Sind Chief Court, opened the proceedings with arguments favouring a settlement whereby Kashmir would become independent on a basis of friendship with both India and Pakistan. This proposal, while favoured by a Kashmiri speaker, was severely criticized by both Indian and Pakistani contributors to the debate.

Since the greater part of the northern boundary of Kashmir marches with Tibet, it was appropriate to hear in July a lecture on the latter country from Mr. A. J. Hopkinson, who, as Political Officer in Sikkim, from 1945 to 1948, was the representative of the Government of India in relation to Tibet. Mr. Hopkinson expressed warm sympathy with the devout and unwarlike Tibetan people on the invasion of their remote land by Chinese forces based on the claim that Tibet is under the suzerainty of China. The situation in other Asian countries in these unsettled times came under review in December when Dr. Victor Purcell gave his impressions of South-east Asia gathered during a recent tour and described their economic and political positions with special reference to the Communist danger.

To the significance of the Indian Constitution, which came into force in January, 1950, many authorities have borne witness. Mr. K. M. Munshi, who had played an important part in the framing of that Constitution,

had agreed to read a paper on that subject to the Association in May. He was, however, recalled urgently to Delhi to take up the duties of Food Member and his paper was read by Mr. H. S. L. Polak at a meeting under the chairmanship of the President, Lord Scarbrough.

In March Dr. T. G. Percival Spear gave a thoughtful paper on the constitutional aspects of transition from dependence to sovereign status, with a view to the experience gained in India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon providing object lessons of what to do and what to avoid in the advance towards self-government of the African and West Indian Colonies. An interesting first-hand account of the position of provincial Governors before and after the transfer of power was given at the annual meeting in July by Sir Frederick Bourne, who was Governor of the Central Provinces before partition; and of East Bengal for more than two and a half years thereafter.

In September one of India's elder statesmen, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, gave an address on the evolution of India's social system, on the conclusion of which a discussion ensued on present day social problems. The primitive ways of life of a fraction of the vast population of India were described in May under the title "The Aboriginal Tribes of India: their history and present position," in the Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture to the Royal Society of Arts, by Dr. Christopher von Frueh-Haimendorf, Reader in Anthropology, London University. Our members were guests of the Society on that occasion and again in November when a lecture on the same foundation was given by Dr. R. E. Mortimer-Wheeler under the title of "Archæology in India and Pakistan since 1944."

With the exceptions mentioned the lectures were held jointly with the Over-Seas League at Over-Seas House, and our thanks are again tendered to its Council and its staff for their generous co-operation.

During the University terms students from the countries with which the Association is concerned are invited to meet distinguished persons at informal parties, held in the early evening, at the School of Oriental and African Studies by the kind permission of the Director, Sir Ralph Turner. At these gatherings numbers are kept relatively small in order that the students may have the opportunity of personal contact with the chief guest. In June Lord Pethick-Lawrence drew from his well-stored memory an account of the great changes in the Indian sub-continent between his first visit in 1897-98 and his last as Chairman of the Cabinet Mission of 1946. In November, Lord Tweedsmuir spoke on the international problems confronting Asia. In March, Mrs. Helena Normanton, one of the first women to be enrolled as a barrister and to become a K.C., spoke on the greatness of Shakespeare, a subject to which she has devoted close study for many years.

At the annual reception in October, held at the Imperial Institute, a documentary film on life in Malaya was shown, and an Indian violin solo by Mr. S. Razdan was much appreciated.

The Association suffered a severe loss by the death in May of Field-Marshal Lord Wavell, who had been a Vice-President from the time of his appointment as Viceroy in 1943, and had always taken a personal interest in its affairs. In February, members of the Council lost their colleague, Mr. G. H. Langley, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, who, after retirement from India, devoted himself to work for the welfare of students from the sub-continent. Another regretted loss was that of the Maharaja of Bikaner, who had succeeded his distinguished father as a Vice-President.

It was a matter of keen satisfaction that Lord Scarbrough agreed at the annual meeting in July to continue as President for another year, although on the understanding that he hoped he would be allowed to retire at the end of this additional year. The Council wishes to place on record its warm appreciation of the services Lord Scarbrough has rendered during the past five years. He has, throughout his period of office, taken an active and keen interest in the work of the Association, and his help and advice have at all times been most valuable. During the year the Council had the pleasure of electing as Vice-Presidents, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, and Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

The attendance at the meetings has been good, and the membership has been well maintained, though losses by death and resignation during the last two years have exceeded the gains by new membership. Unlike most similar organizations the Association has not increased the annual subscription in order to meet rising costs. It remains at the small figure of 25s. fixed on the formation of the Association in 1866.

For the vacancy on the Council caused by the death of Mr. Langley, Miss M. E. Whitehorn, who is in charge of the student work of the British Council in this country, has been co-opted. Brigadier S. Ghawas, Mr. S. M. Burke, and Dr. S. Bhattacharaya have also been co-opted. These nominations require the confirmation of the annual meeting. The members of the Council retiring by rotation but eligible for re-election are—Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Hutton, Sir Frederick James, Mr. Hatim Attari, Mr. R. K. Handoo, Sir William Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Hubert Carr, Lady Hartog, and Brigadier J. G. Smyth, VC, MP.

It is open to any member to propose at the annual meeting a candidate or candidates to fill vacancies on the Council, subject to not less than fifteen days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary.

J. A. WOODHEAD, *Chairman*

F. H. BROWN, *Hon. Secretary*

The Council is glad to be able to report that the Association continues to prosper. This is largely due to the enthusiasm with which the Hon. Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, undertakes his duties and to the great efficiency with which he carries them out. The attention which he gives, and the time he devotes to the affairs of the Association remain unabated.

It is once again the agreeable duty of the Council to express to Sir Frank its sincerest thanks for the great services he has so willingly and efficiently rendered to the Association.

J. A. WOODHEAD, *Chairman*.

EIGHTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Eighty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Association was held at Over-Seas House, Park Place, S.W.1, on Monday, July 23rd, 1951, with the retiring President the Earl of Scarbrough, KG, GCSI, GCIE, in the Chair.

REPORT AND ACCOUNTS

THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH : The annual report has been in the hands of members for some days. The account which it gives of the activities of the Association during the year under review bears out, I think, the belief that I expressed at the annual meeting in 1947 that with the coming of independence to India, Pakistan, and Burma the work of our Association would be of even greater value than in the past. Throughout this last year there have been addresses and discussions of great interest which have helped many friends of those countries to follow the trend of events. I am sure that members of the Association feel as I do that these meetings and the reports of them which appear in *THE ASIATIC REVIEW* provide us with an invaluable link with India and Pakistan.

Membership of the Association has been well maintained. In the older days the Association used to gain recruits from a steady stream of British officials returning to this country on the completion of their Indian service. This stream has now, of course, dried up ; but there is still an outward and inward flow of business men and technicians, and I hope an increasing number of them will come into this Association. There are also in this country a large number of Indian and Pakistan nationals, who are engaged in higher studies and research in the service of their respective Governments and in professional and commercial avocations and these we also welcome into the Association. Our one object is to promote good understanding between the three countries and the British people and therefore we are looking forward to an increasing membership from these sources.

I would emphasize to all who may be thinking of joining our Association that we do offer them something which in these days is quite unique. In spite of the increased expenditure on such things as rent, printing, paper,

and many others, which have caused many societies to raise their subscription, the subscription to our Association (and the Council has every hope of retaining it at its present figure) is the same as it has been since 1866.

M O M E N T O U S Y E A R S .

You will see from the report, that at the last annual meeting I accepted re-election to the Chair for another year on the understanding that I might after that year be allowed to retire. That understanding has been adhered to and in a few moments I shall disappear into the ranks of vice-presidents. But I would like to say a word before laying down my office. I have deeply appreciated the honour of being your president during the past five years. These have been momentous years in history. One of my predecessors in this office (Lord Reay) was President for as long as 25 years, from 1896 to 1921, but I think that the events affecting the Indian Empire during the whole of that time were quite negligible in comparison with the events which have taken place in that part of the world during the last five years. When I succeeded Sir Frederick Sykes in this position it was at a time when there were serious communal clashes. An interim and finally a caretaker Government was in Delhi and the problem of the Indian constitution seemed insoluble, but events moved swiftly and brought us to the eve of the transfer of power.

During the four years that have elapsed since that transfer the two independent Governments have consolidated their respective positions, and although confronted with some baffling situations they have come through the first critical years of independence with remarkable success. No doubt mistakes have been made ; no doubt also much remains to be achieved. Mr. Nehru himself made that remark with regard to India only a few days ago in reviewing the events of the past four years. It has also unhappily to be admitted that relations between India and Pakistan, which should be so cordial, remain unhappy.

But when all is said and done both India and Pakistan have made history of a remarkable pattern during the past five years. All of us in Great Britain who continue our interest in the sub-continent (and that includes, I am quite certain, all who have lived or served in India) have followed those five years with keen interest, and we wish those great countries, and also troubled Burma, which is no longer a member of the Commonwealth, real progress and prosperity, and we hope peace, in the years ahead.

General Sir ARCHIBALD NYE, moving the adoption of the report and accounts said that when he gave up his appointment as Governor of Madras a few years ago he had felt that it was the end of an important

epoch, but also a new beginning of perhaps a more important epoch in the years ahead. His experience during these last few years had amply borne out that impression. It was fairly obvious at that time that there would continue to be a considerable interest in India and Pakistan, political, commercial, economic, but it was not so obvious at that time that there would continue the broader interest with which the Association was so closely concerned. Events had shown the immense influence of Asia in world affairs. This was becoming obvious to an extent which would have seemed quite impossible only a few years ago. In the shaping of that influence India had inevitably played a very important part.

INDIA'S PLACE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

During the last three years as High Commissioner he had had a very close-up view of what had been happening in India. He had no intention of making a speech but he desired to touch on one or two things which had impressed him. India to-day could not and should not be ignored in all matters touching world affairs and therefore world peace. The attitude which India had taken might be one that did not always receive their approval, but it was his impression first of all that so far as their two countries were concerned they had common aims, objectives, and ideals. He believed also that they had a respect for each other's integrity. If they differed, as they did from time to time, they differed only as to the best means of attaining those common ideals. There was a quite unbelievable friendliness in India towards not merely the people of this country but everything they stood for, what might be called briefly the British way of life and the British outlook. He believed that although there might be misunderstandings from time to time, as the years went on they would be closer knit. One of the most enlightened acts of statesmanship that they had seen in their time was the giving of independence to India and India's subsequent action in voluntarily of her own free will, without pressure from outside, deciding to remain within the Commonwealth. One saw the effect of that day by day in a remarkable degree.

Although he had been immersed in Indian affairs and might be expected to know something about what was going on in that country, he was free to tell that audience as one of the junior members of the Association that nevertheless he had learned a great deal from the reports of its meetings, the papers and discussions which had been given before the Association. If he, who was fairly well placed to know something about it, had had that experience, it seemed reasonable to suppose that people not so fortunately placed might also benefit considerably from membership of the Association. Therefore he felt that the Association was fulfilling a role of extreme

importance, not merely on behalf of those who knew a great deal about India but those who did not know so much and were anxious to know more. He had spoken of India but what he had said applied also to other Eastern countries.

He regarded it as a great privilege and pleasure to propose the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

Sir FREDERICK BOURNE, in seconding, said that he was a very junior member of the Association and he greatly appreciated the honour of membership. He paid a tribute to the services of Sir Frank Brown, the Honorary Secretary, who had laboured greatly for the Association and to whom its success was very largely due.

Mr. H. H. HOOD said that towards the end of the Report it was stated that the membership had been well maintained. Could some indication be given as to the figures?

Sir FRANK BROWN said that the losses by death, resignation, and the removal of names of members who had not paid their subscriptions, were not quite balanced by the newly elected members.

Mr. HOOD suggested that in future reports the precise figures should be given.

Sir FRANK BROWN pointed out that the report always gave the total amount received in subscriptions as compared with the total for the two previous years.

The resolution to adopt the Report and Accounts was carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD moved: "That the grateful thanks of the Association be accorded to Lord Scarbrough for his ready and valued services as President for the past five years; and also to Lady Scarbrough for her interest and support; and that Lord Hailey be elected President for the ensuing year." He said: We are under a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Scarbrough for the services he has so willingly rendered to the Association during the last five years. His advice and assistance have always been most freely given and have been invaluable to the Council, particularly during the years which followed the great constitutional changes of 1947 and 1948. Those years were important milestones in the history of the Association, and the members of the Council appreciate greatly the help which they received from Lord Scarbrough in carrying on the work of the Association after the transfer of power to Indian, Pakistani, and Burman hands.

Our thanks are also due to Lady Scarbrough for her assistance and support. Her presence at the receptions contributed greatly to the success of those functions.

I am certain that the second part of the resolution, like the first, will meet with your warmest and unanimous approval. We are extremely glad that Lord Hailey has kindly consented to be our President. Lord Hailey is well known to all of us, and it would be presumptuous on my part to attempt to describe his qualifications for the office of President, but may I say just this. He is one of the most famous of the men who have served as an officer of the Crown in the Indian sub-continent. We are proud to know that he has been a member of the Association since 1928 and a Vice-President since 1940, and now that he has agreed to be our President we are prouder still. He has always taken a great interest in the work of the Association, and has frequently taken the Chair at our meetings. When I approached him on behalf of the Council I was a little afraid that the reply would be that his work in connexion with Africa would prevent him from accepting our invitation, and was greatly relieved when my fear proved groundless. The term of office of the President is three years and the only condition that Lord Hailey has laid down is that he should be able to reconsider the position at the end of the first year of his office in case it is necessary for him to go to Africa again. I am sure that we all readily accept this, but hope that nothing will prevent Lord Hailey from continuing as our President for his full term of office.

It will perhaps not be out of place if I remind you that Lord Hailey was Governor of two provinces in India, neither of which was Bombay. I draw attention to this fact of course without any reflection on the long line of Presidents, including Lord Scarbrough, who have been Governors of Bombay. The change in the geographical connexions of our President with India is of no significance and is entirely fortuitous.

Sir ARTHUR LOTHIAN seconded the resolution and spoke in high terms of Lord Scarbrough's services. With regard to Lord Hailey, since leaving India he had undertaken another career in Africa, but it was pleasing to know that he had not forgotten his first love.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

LORD SCARBROUGH thanked Sir John Woodhead and Sir Arthur Lothian for the kind words they had used in submitting the first part of this resolution, but in fact the President did not do a great deal; the real work was done by Sir John Woodhead and his Council, with the splendid and unwearying assistance of Sir Frank Brown. He had felt it a great honour to be President of the Association during these years.

Lord Scarbrough went on to give a word of welcome to Lord Hailey.

He remembered quite a long time ago when he himself first went to India. Lord Hailey was then at Lucknow as Governor of the United Provinces and he himself as a very ignorant and non-erudite Member of Parliament felt the greatest submission and respect towards Lord Hailey ; in fact he had never got out of that feeling. Lord Hailey had rendered great services to the British Empire. He had made a vast contribution to the reputation of the Indian Civil Service, and his Governorship of the Punjab and then of the United Provinces had been all that such Governorships should be. When he came home it was not to rest but to take on another commitment and become the leading British authority on the continent of Africa. In the name of those present he offered him a very warm welcome to the Chair.

Lord HAILEY, in taking the Chair, observed : I need not say how honoured and pleased I am that you have elected me to be your President to-day. It is a great honour to think that I am succeeding so distinguished a President as Lord Scarbrough who has carried your Association through these difficult years that followed the fateful year 1947, and that I am also following a long list of distinguished men who have served as President. Since coming back from India I have spent a great deal of my time and energies on work in Africa. I have even gone so far as to commit myself to writing a work which my friends describe as monumental—meaning of course, that it is one of those invaluable productions which they need not read. I know that some of my friends have felt perhaps a slight suspicion of me because I have neglected India and the work of the Association for so long. They almost look on me as one found guilty of surreptitious sacrifices to strange gods. I now intend, however, to return to the paths of rectitude, and although I know that I cannot make a contribution to your Association at all equal to that of Lord Scarbrough I will do my best.

I could say much more but I will content myself at this hour with saying how grateful I am to you for electing me as your President.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

Mr. MORGAN PHILIPS PRICE, MP, moved : “ That General Sir Thomas Hutton, Sir Frederick James, Mr. Hatim Attari, Mr. R. K. Handoo, Sir William Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Hubert Carr, Lady Hartog, and Brigadier J. G. Smyth, VC, MP, be re-elected to the Council and that the co-option by the Council of Miss M. E. Whitehorn, Brigadier S. Ghawas, Mr. S. M. Burke and Dr. S. Bhattacharya be confirmed.”

In doing so he said that all the distinguished persons mentioned were well versed in the work of the Association, which as their late President had just told them, was probably more important now than it had ever

been, because although Britain was no longer responsible for the government of the Indian sub-continent, it was vitally interested in the succession states which had followed upon the Indian Empire.

Colonel C. H. REINHOLD, MC, seconded the resolution which was carried, and the address below of Mr. Compton Mackenzie followed.

THE ARMY IN INDIA IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Association on July 23, 1951, Mr. COMPTON MACKENZIE gave a brief address on "The Army in India in the Second World War."

He said he was afflicted on that occasion by more than modesty—by a genuine shyness—on speaking in such an assembly on such a subject as the Indian Army. The only excuse he had to make was that he had done nothing else for the last three years but think and note and write about the Indian Army. Only two days previously he had placed his first volume on the subject in the printer's hands. It ran to 300,000 words and would be published presumably in October. He had got only as far as the second battle of El Alamein. On this occasion he was preaching to the converted, to those probably who knew more about the subject than he did himself, but this work had been for him a tremendous experience.

In his school days he read his *Odyssey* and his *Iliad*; and it was something, in his sixties, for this early youth to come back to him and face him. The performance of the Indian Army in the last war was such a climax to a great tradition, to a great history, as had never been equalled by any Power in the world, imperial or otherwise. This really was a magnificent achievement, and they could say that Britain in giving India her independence had done so with such grace and after such recent triumphant achievement as no great Empire in the history of the world had ever before shown.

At the beginning of the Second World War that was not quite the idea of the British Government. The idea rather was, "Oh, very well; it is rather a nuisance, but if you insist on fighting in this war, give us one division overseas—that is all. Tanks? You cannot have any tanks." It was a long period of frustration for every British officer right through the Indian Army at that time. It did not look as if anything could be given.

Here Mr. Mackenzie paid a tribute to the first four Indian Mule Companies who went out to France and conducted themselves magnificently. Three of them came to this country after the fall of France, landing in perfect order. This was a sort of beginning of the Indian contingent, and the muleteers made themselves beloved wherever they went. They were kept in Sutherland, and when the time came for them to leave the people pleaded that they should not go away, and said that after they went there would be an empty chair beside the fire for every single member of the Indian contingent. When one looked back on that story of Highlanders and Indian soldiers fighting together, both with long traditions of martial comradeship, it was something unequalled possibly in the whole world.

THE KEREN CAMPAIGN

Mr Mackenzie spoke briefly of the formation of the Indian Brigades, the Gurkas, and their distinctions in the war. Coming to Lord Wavell he said that the tremendous Keren campaign in Eritrea was one of the decisive battles of the world, because the victory in March, 1941, at Keren, opened the way for the American ships to go through. It was a great victory. Lord Wavell was a man of extraordinary quickness of decision. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had seen the place where the battle was won—a fabulous lunar landscape, one could hardly believe that any troops could have possessed it. But there was a demonstration of what two “unmilked” Indian divisions could do—the “Red Eagles” and the “Ball of Fire.” It was a magnificently fought campaign, and he thought it very significant that when Lord Wavell chose his title the name “Keren” was in it, showing that it was pretty near his heart. He had the opportunity of choosing other titles of various kinds but he chose that one.

Mr Compton Mackenzie then went on to speak of Indian Army prowess in Malaya, in Hongkong, in Burma, and—a small campaign—in Borneo, where the Indians undertook a fantastic march of 800 miles through the jungle. There was one company in Borneo which fought and fought and would not surrender and were finally overwhelmed by numbers. Still they would not give in and in the end they were wired together by the tendon Achilles and petrol was poured on them and they were set alight. Horrible as was the story to relate, in that sublime way the Indians repaid with interest the loyalty and devotion which so many British officers had given to India throughout the years. It seemed to him something quite tremendous, and it was possible because generation after generation of British officers had done their duty in India.

The same thing was found in the dreadful Hongkong business. All through the same magnificent loyalty was shown. It was a perfect

example of a complete joint effort by Britain and by India. The regiments, British, Indian and Canadian which had a share in Hongkong, were a pretty representative bunch. All of them fought at Hongkong and held out to the bitter end.

Malaya ! There had been too much inclination to suggest that the men on the spot did not know what to do at the right moment. In Malaya they were an expendible garrison, but he assured everybody there who had relatives or friends who fought in the 9th and 11th Indian divisions that those divisions fought magnificently.

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR WILLIAM SLIM

He went on to describe that "great moment in the history of our race," the battle of the Admin. Box. Here again he had seen the place where it was fought. It was like a glade in Epping Forest or Richmond Park, with nothing left to denote the struggle except perhaps a lorry rusted away, and the cattle were grazing where, only two years before he saw it, the place had been "a moment in history."

One of his pleasures at the present moment was to find that Field-Marshal Sir William Slim was C.I.G.S. Nobody fought a more brilliant campaign than he did in Syria. It was, indeed, so well fought that it looked perfectly easy, and even Mr. Churchill did not mention it in his book, but it was magnificently fought. And Persia ! Slim showed there how he could handle affairs in a moment of crisis, and that crisis was superlatively handled. Slim was always ready to say that he was wrong—that was one of his characteristics—but his ability to inspire love in the men he led, whether they were British, Indian, or Pakistani, was unbounded. To him, at any rate, it came with a sense of reassurance that he could go to bed at night and think that Sir William Slim was C.I.G.S. at the present moment.

There were many side campaigns in which the Indian Army had figured and everywhere they behaved perfectly. It was a great professional army. It was in this last war what the "Old Contemptibles" were in the war of 1914-18. Where were they going to find them in the next war?—but God forbid another war ! But would they not feel happier at the present moment if they felt that the situation in the Middle East could be handled by the Indian Army ?

Years ago the music-halls and the B.B.C. were allowed to build up a jest about the Indian Army. The word "Poona" was bandied about and that sort of thing ought not to be allowed.

"I suppose" Mr. Mackenzie added "that few people—certainly no laymen—have encountered the Indian Army as I have done. I have talked to

them all—brigadiers, colonels, generals—and I tell you that in all my life I have not known such an average high quality of intelligence, unselfishness, and goodwill. I have never had a single difference of opinion with any of them. They were perfectly well able to understand my point of view, and I think I could understand theirs. They made an enormous impression on me and I regard it as a great privilege to have known these people and I should like only to say how grateful I am as a writer to have had this opportunity.”

Lord HAILEY, speaking from the Chair, said they would all feel that the reputation and honour of the Indian Army was going to be safe in Mr. Mackenzie's hands. They looked forward not only to his first volume but to the remaining volumes and were sure that they would form a fitting tribute to the memory of the Indian Army. Many of those present had seen the Indian Army at close quarters ; they had known the men who made it up. They felt immense pride in all those things which the Indian Army had done. There were many people who were talking about what we had left behind in India. Some said we had left behind a certain sense of political justice, others that we had left behind the idea of law and order ; but when men perhaps had ceased to remember these things and had ceased to think of the changes that had taken place, he was sure that there would be one thing that would be left in history, namely, the perfect sense of comradeship that existed between the British officers and the men of the Indian Army.

THE OBJECTS AND POLICY OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION (INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BURMA)

IN 1866, eight years after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, the East India Association was formed with the object of “the promotion of the public interest and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally.” This object was steadfastly pursued during the ensuing eighty-one years. The Independence of India and Pakistan attained in 1947, while modifying the original conception, has increased the need for strengthening the bonds of friendship and the importance of mutual understanding between the people of Britain and the inhabitants of the countries formerly comprising the India Empire—namely, India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. The Association therefore looks forward to the continuance of its work, with the assistance of all those who are interested in the welfare and progress of these countries, by the methods which have proved so helpful in the past, namely :

1. By lectures on current questions affecting those countries and publication of the same.
 2. By providing opportunities for the free discussion of important questions affecting India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma.
 3. By promoting friendly contact between the peoples of these countries and of Britain through the medium of social and other gatherings.
 4. Generally by the promulgation of reliable information regarding the countries named.
- The Association is essentially non-official in character and has no connexion with any political party. It seeks to provide an open platform for the consideration of current problems relating to India, Pakistan, the States, and Burma. It welcomes as members all those who are interested in their welfare and progress.
- Papers are read and discussed throughout the year, except in the months of August and September. Members are entitled to invite friends to these meetings.
- Annual Subscription payable in advance £1 5s. The Life Subscription is £14.
- For members joining after October 15, the first subscription will cover the ensuing calendar year.
- Members receive THE ASIATIC REVIEW each quarter, free, by post.

THE TRIBESMEN OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

By A CORRESPONDENT

AN AMPLE LITERATURE exists on the history and origins of the tribal people of the North-West Frontier of Pakistan. All the authorities do not dovetail to produce an agreed picture and especially is this true on the ethnological side, but this has merely served to maintain and enhance interest. After all it matters but little, in an appreciation of the present circumstances of the tribes, whether any or all of them are descendants of the lost tribes of Israel or had different and more complicated antecedents. The tribes themselves have divisions and sub-divisions. Some are numerically large and important organizations while others are little more than groups of associated families. A very large proportion of the whole are people far above the average of the world's populations in virility of body and strength of character. Despite their rugged appearances—women, of course, are not so rugged and in fact have among them many beauties—the tribesmen as a whole are very human and have a great sense of humour although both their humanity and their capacity for fun may not at once be apparent to the newcomer in their gaunt countryside.

Doubtless the tendency towards hard features, unflickering eye, with heavily lined faces even of men in their 20's, is due not only to sharp variations of heat and cold, valley and mountain, high winds and sultriness but also to centuries of extremely difficult living conditions. These conditions of the past and their dramatic improvement during the past few years, brings us to the present state of affairs.

When independence came to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and India and Pakistan were partitioned the frontier regions naturally went to Pakistan. This was due to religious associations, geographical proximity and the history of a great many years past in which the Pushtu tribes had formed a great many sympathies with the Muslim peoples of what had been, until partition, Northern India, while regarding the non-Muslim people of the rest of the sub-continent as more or less foreigners.

In recent times a certain amount of talk has been heard of the possibility of the tribes of the North-West Frontier, or some of them, adhering to Afghanistan instead of to Pakistan. According to some versions this disingenuous notion originated in Afghanistan while others are of the opinion that it was a product of Indian inclination to embarrass the new state of Pakistan. The writer has come to no conclusions, even with a

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*Drawn by
Elizabeth Balneaves*

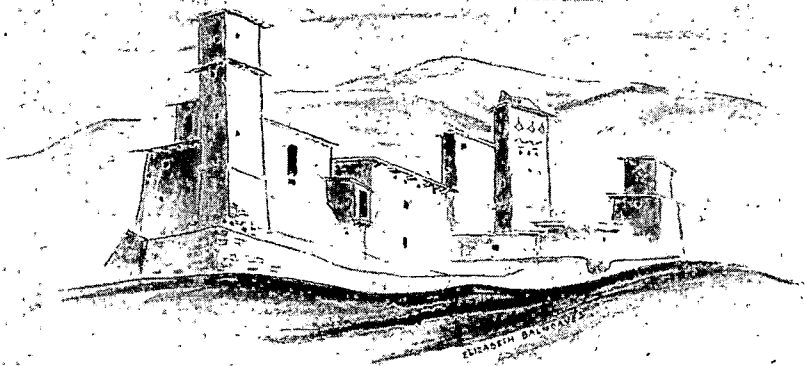


mass of material as to the origins of the "Pakhtoonistan" invention at his disposal ; but whatever the source of this phantom buffer country of Pushtu-speaking people it is at least very certain that the idea did not originate in the minds or councils of the Pushtu-speaking people themselves. When partition of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent took place the tribesmen elected without hesitation to throw in their lot with Pakistan. This was not done without an effort on the part of India to gain a hold in the important strategic area occupied by the tribes. As early as 1946, Pandit Nehru, who was then Prime Minister of undivided India, toured part of the frontier regions, it was thought at the instance of one Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who although a Muslim had ingratiated himself with Hindus in the frontier regions and elsewhere and was in fact known more or less throughout India as the "Frontier Gandhi." All that need be said about that tour and other efforts to induce the men of the border to reject Pakistan is that none of the blandishments had any effect on them

and when they came to make their formal decision they acted as everybody who understand them thought they would. They joined Pakistan and have been completely loyal ever since, using occasions when stories of alleged pro-Afghan leanings have been circulated to meet their "jirgas" (tribal councils) to re-affirm that loyalty.

It would be odd if in such a great patchwork of communities as the Pushtu tribes there were no renegade elements. Apart from the Faqir of Ipi who has been an enemy of the British in British times and continues to be an enemy of law and order, there are certain factions which, either in the hope of reward or out of sheer "cussedness," have chosen to make themselves exceptions to the general willing and even enthusiastic adherence to Pakistan. India, Afghanistan and certain people (some of whom, curiously enough, are in this country, although perhaps they may be numbered on the fingers of one hand) have managed to produce pieces of unimportant and inconsequential evidence that the loyalty of the tribes should lie, and to some extent, does lie, with the Afghans. Of course, there is a great language and racial bond between the cis-frontier and trans-frontier Pathans, but this does not indicate that the men on the Pakistan side of the Durand Line would wish at any time to place themselves at the tender mercies of the Government at Kabul; although the ties of race and language influence a good many Pathans in Afghan territory to wish they were Pakistan citizens. In fact some of them come over from time to time although, not wishing to retaliate in kind to Afghanistan's "Pakhutnist" propaganda, the Pakistan Government never publicizes the fact that the sentiments of the Pushtu-speaking people on the other side of the Durand Line are more in favour of Pakistan than the sentiments of cis-frontier tribesmen are towards Afghanistan.

The instances which may be seen quoted from time to time calculated to convey an impression that tribesmen would like to join Afghanistan could be analysed one by one; but it is sufficient to quote one piece of overwhelming evidence of the tribes' satisfaction with their present standing. In British days the ruling power had to keep a very large force of British and Indian army troops at border posts and at the great frontier cantonments and garrison towns. This was despite the fact that the tribesmen had no hatred for the British. There are in fact many stories, some of which may be true and all of which might have been true, of some of the age-long battles between British and frontier people assuming the aspect of somewhat sporting events in which the latter are believed to have suggested to emissaries that if a certain unfair weight of arms were kept well to the rear the tribesmen would condescend to emerge from their fastnesses and "have a go." But despite this lack



NORTH-WEST FRONTIER FORT.

Drawn by Elizabeth Balneaves

of rancour the British had to keep their forces up to a certain level and could not remove them even when every available man was required for the world wars. If the numbers actually stationed on the Frontier towards the end of British times showed a reduction in numbers it was due to the presence of the R.A.F., who both by reconnaissance and fire-power reduced the necessity for costly punitive expeditions.

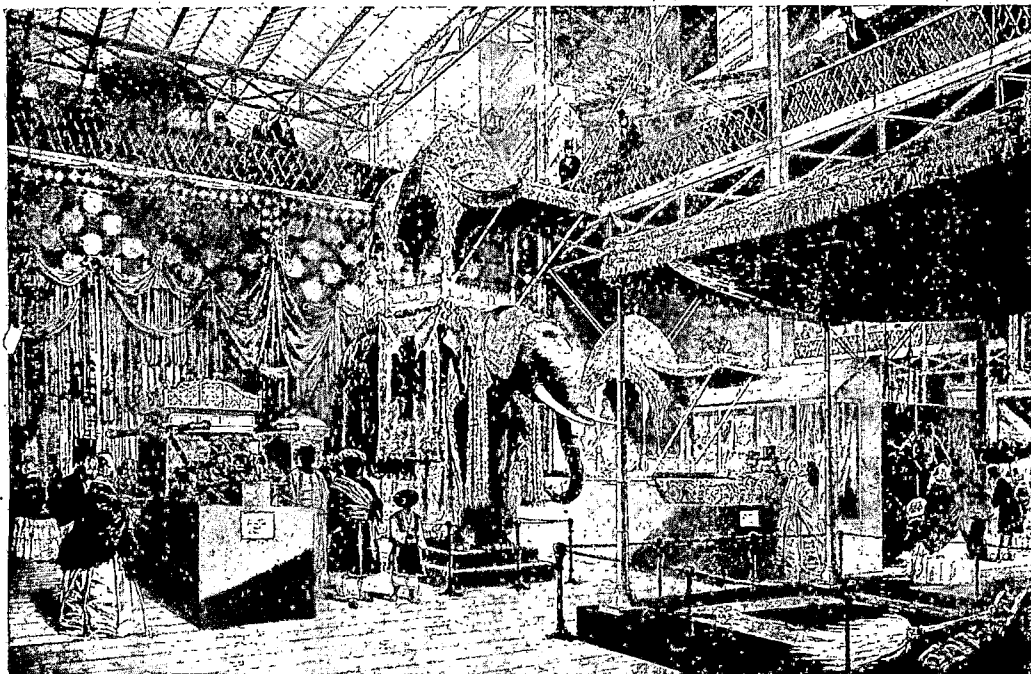
Very little in the process of the division of India and Pakistan was more dramatic than the latter's decision to withdraw all regular military forces from tribal territory. Thus, although the Pushtu tribes were not the incessant enemies of the British, in the Pakistanis they immediately recognized blood-brothers against whom they had no quarrel, and Pakistan on its side showed complete confidence that its citizens in its North-West marches would not in any imaginable circumstances harass the Government which was the legal inheritor of British suzerainty—a change which the tribesmen very naturally regarded as one being entirely for the better. Without any other evidence it is surely apparent that tracts of the country formerly heavily garrisoned, now left ungarrisoned, are inhabited by people contented with recent developments and future prospects.

Not that Pakistan has relied entirely on the withdrawal of armed forces to gain the goodwill of the tribal peoples. The era of benevolent development which the British had initiated but not carried very far was

promptly put into top gear as soon as Karachi had put its house in order after partition. The task is a tremendous one. The country defined as the tribal area by the Government of India Act 1935 comprises 24,986 sq. miles and has a population of about 2½ millions. It is the charge, under the Pakistan Government, of the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions. Education was one of the first concerns of the Ministry and in the four years of existence of Pakistan the number of schools in the area has increased by nearly two-thirds and there is an ambitious programme of many more schools, with free education, likely to be carried out within the next few years. In the higher branch educational policy will bring the tribal area into touch with the rest of Pakistan by various means including the granting of scholarships and stipends to enable students to attend universities in Pakistan and also to go abroad with other Pakistani students.

Hunger was in the past one of the chief causes of unrest but the present Government have rectified the grain problem and as a long term policy are constructing works which will enable modernization of agriculture thus making the tribesmen self-sufficient. Industry is being stimulated and although the country is not ready temperamentally or otherwise for extensive factories much may be done by way of cottage industries and agriculture and a woollen spinnery is being started at Bannu as a beginning in enabling the people to manufacture their own raw products. On the medical side the Government is equally active and the hospital system is being improved while hitherto inaccessible patients are being treated by dispensary vans.

Tribesmen have been and to a very large extent still are a backward people. But they are by no means without a fair share of common-sense. On the contrary the extremely hard life generations of them have had to live has made them a shrewd and sharp-witted race of people. They are free to look southward into Pakistan and they are free to look in the other direction. No doubt they did so very thoroughly before they made their decision to join Pakistan—and the more they see in these days the more they will be confirmed that they did the right thing. The fact is that in recent years the tribesmen have been having a better time in almost every respect than they have known or that their forefathers have told them of. Given future years of peace they have unlimited prospects for advancing both as individuals and as a people. Perhaps extraneous events will cause a cessation of propaganda aimed at making the tribes change their allegiance, but whether this takes place or not it is quite certain that no substantial part of the Pushtu-speaking Pakistanis either wants to attempt to stand alone and unprotected or to seek the protection of any other country.



THE INDIAN PAVILION IN THE GREAT EXHIBITION, 1851

From Seznéc Flaubert's *L'Exposition de 1851*, *The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1951.*

WANTED—

AN OVERSEAS MOTHER'S CHARTER

By BARBARA WHITTINGHAM-JONES

I DON'T KNOW whether it has ever been computed from the archives in the old India Office Library how many servants of John Company were born at sea but in days when a single voyage from East India Dock to Calcutta took six months ships log-books contained many records of such events. Raffles was born at sea as were several of his children but they, like so many European children born in the East, died in infancy from some tropical disease. With the decline of infant mortality in the West (in the upper and middle classes) it became the general practice to send children home after the first few years for health and education and if many of these little tropical evacuees were happy in their adopted homes, many suffered unheard the lack of parental love and care and bore the scar of this deprivation for the rest of their lives.

As a result of modern improvements in health, hygiene and housing over the last fifty years European infant mortality is lower in the tropics than at home, and young children thrive there up to the age of seven or eight. But once they reach Prep. School age the old bogey of family separation raises its head as inexorably as ever. From this moment school children are cut off from their fathers for three or four years at a stretch and wives are confronted with the necessity of making an unnatural choice between husband and children. Even though the wife try to compromise by staying at home longer to be with the children, and returning home ahead of her husband, it still means that the children are left behind for anything up to two or three years years to be passed around between relatives and friends to whom they are invariably a burden.

There may still be a few fathers who, so long as their own comfort is provided for, dismiss this problem with an "it's only a question of holidays" but everyone who has to do with children now knows the detriment of this separation to the child and most modern parents are increasingly eager to discharge the full function of parenthood to the utmost of their ability. As to the effect of the severance from her children upon the mother we have the testimony of itinerant male journalists like Ian Morrison and Patrick O'Donovan who castigate European women for the isolation and frivolity of their lives in Eastern countries without having the discernment to understand the cause or the wit to point the remedy. A country which to the journalist may be a land of glamour

and fascination to a mother deprived of her children becomes an exile or even a prison.

Overseas careers have for so long been penalized by these long family separations which many of those concerned still tend to suffer without protest. But in the Air Age such separations are no longer physically unavoidable and should be as obsolete as the East Indiaman. In December 1948 B.O.A.C. gave a lead by offering to fly school children to parents overseas at half the adult fare. This scheme enabled about 500 children to spend the summer holiday in their parents' overseas homes in 1949 and 1950 and this year the number has nearly doubled. But these children travelled at their parents' expense, all employers have always as a matter of course supplied one return sea-passage per tour for the wife and young children but the claims of schoolchildren have so far been overlooked. One or two of the big oil firms supply one return air-passage per three-year tour for the wife and all children, and this means that children at school or university at home can, free of cost, join their parents overseas for one summer holiday in three.

The Colonial Office reports, "a large total deficit in Colonial establishments" (The Colonial Territories 1950-51. H.M.S.O. Cmd. 8243 p. 18). but offers no inducement to stimulate recruiting. Small salary increases and cost-of-living allowances do not touch this problem of preserving family life. The only steps taken to fill the 980 outstanding vacancies appear to have been "a wide programme of talks" for the purpose of 'disseminating information' about the Colonial Service. The report contains no hint of awareness that the terms of service, and especially the long tours and certain prospect of long separations constitute a powerful deterrent to recruiting. If the individual Colonial Governments, who hold the purse, desire to attract an adequate supply of applicants for their administrative posts, they must march in step with the more progressive commercial firms. Possibly the I.C.S., would have shewn more imagination in meeting the opportunities of the Air Age than the present occupants of Church House.

Paradoxically the 'White Man's Grave' in West Africa is the real pioneer of a square deal for the Colonial civil servant. It is barely a decade since white children were admitted to the West African Colonies but they even now cannot remain beyond infancy. West African civil servants, however, do one year on duty and three months at home and, unless the exigencies of the service prevent, are able to spend one school holidays a year with their children in this country.

Mothers and children are an inarticulate community but now that at long last a remedy lies open their voice should be heard. To make it heard all overseas wives, Government and Commerce, might combine to

adopt "An Overseas Mothers' Charter" embodying the following propositions:

(1) That it should be the responsibility of every employer to enable every parent on his overseas staff to have all his children in his overseas home at least once a year.

(2) That no mother should be required or expected to leave her children at home when joining her husband overseas without having at her disposal a return ticket enabling her to return to her children at any time when, in her sole judgment, it should be necessary for her to do so.

(3) That no mother should be burdened with the necessity of making a choice between husband and children for years at a stretch now that air transport makes long separations unnecessary.

(4) That every wife should be personally supplied by the employer with an explicit statement of the travelling facilities provided for her and her children.

CEYLON IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

PEOPLE will naturally wonder what significant part, if any, the little island of Ceylon can play in South-East Asia. With a population of just over 7,000,000 and 25,000 square miles of land, Ceylon has unique political, spiritual, and strategic advantages which can be utilized to the benefit of the 570,000,000 people that live in those territories, which have now come to be regarded as South-East Asia.

The material resources of the island are small. Its economy is an undiversified agricultural one and the prosperity of its peoples depends entirely on the demand for and the prices of the three well-known products, tea, rubber, and coconut. Like all primary producers, Ceylon suffers from the dangers and uncertainties that wide fluctuations in prices of raw materials induce. In spite of this inherent weakness, it is true to say that, comparatively, the standard of living of the Ceylonese is higher than that in any other part of South-East Asia, and that the prospects of economic development are relatively brighter in this little island than elsewhere in this region. Cheap power can be produced from the island's water supplies; the extent of arable land available for future development is as large as the acreage at present under cultivation; the island is not by any means over-populated; it has a stable and enlightened government and the various races—Sinhalese, Tamils, Mohammedans, Malays, Burghers, and Europeans—live in harmony without fear of religious or racial discrimination.

The 20 miles of sea that separate Ceylon from the Indian sub-continent and the fact that it is an island help its peoples to preserve an individuality of their own. Though susceptible to Continental influences, the Ceylonese have, therefore, succeeded in building up their own traditions and developing national characteristics that distinguish them from the other peoples of South-East Asia.

The greatest influence that Ceylon can have on the rest of South-East Asia is, however, a spiritual one. Buddhism in its purest form is practised here and millions of followers of the Buddha regard Ceylon as their spiritual home. At present, happily, a strong Buddhist revival is being fostered and the religious leaders, both clergy and laity, in the island are taking an active part in establishing close and friendly contact with co-religionists in South-East Asia. By this means it is hoped that this little island will, in course of time, be able to have a spiritual influence which will profoundly affect the tempo of life in a region which is now, more than ever before, under pressure from competing foreign ideologies.

NATIONALIZATION IN THE SUNG DYNASTY*

By The Rev. W. SCOTT MORTON, BD.

"THE STATE should take the entire management of commerce, industry, and agriculture into its own hands, with a view to helping the working classes and preventing them from being ground into the dust by the rich." Keir Hardie, with his passion to see wrongs righted, might have spoken these words. Or they might have come from the bitter heart of Karl Marx. In fact, they come from a man called Wang An Shih, who was a Chinese statesman of the Sung Dynasty. At the time that William the Conqueror was fighting the Battle of Hastings, Wang persuaded his Emperor to try out a programme of nationalization in China. And it was a fairly thorough-going business. He arranged for the State to own or to control the means of production and distribution. There was the relief of unemployment and distress from public funds—there were Government loans for agriculture—there was a system of universal conscription in a

*Lecture delivered at the China Institute, London.

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Territorial Army. In fact, State control was carried into every department of men's lives. Wang was convinced that nationalization was the most rational way of doing things.

Of course, not everybody saw eye to eye with him on this. There was fierce opposition to these revolutionary proposals. Some of the objections of Su Chi (the conservative statesman) were written into a memorial presented to the Emperor protesting vigorously against the whole scheme. They have a curiously modern ring—they might almost have been extracts from the Minutes of the Conference of the Conservative Party. Here they are :

“ Great initial and regular expenditure will be involved in the employment of this horde of officials with their account books. In the purchases of the grain the usual malpractices will be in evidence, haggling over the quality and demanding bribes, so that in the end the prices paid by the Government will be in excess of those current amongst the people. The money which the Government has put into the business will never be recovered.”

What sort of a personality was the man who made these bold and far-reaching experiments? How was it he stirred up a controversy which shook the monumental Chinese system to its roots?

Wang An Shih was the son of a district government official, and was born in 1021 A.D. He had a brilliant Civil Service career—the highest examination degree at the age of 20, and appointed a Grand Councillor of State at 50. In between he held offices in a civil service no less varied—and complicated—than our own. Among his various jobs were Assistant Superintendent in the Imperial Stud, Chief Justice of a local circuit, District Magistrate, and Literary Councillor—the last a court appointment at the Capital.

He was a man with a first-rate brain—but he had more than that—he had a sound integrity of character, which he kept up in his public as well as his private life. That was the reason the Emperor trusted him as far as he did. He made many enemies in the course of his career—indeed even his former friends dropped away one by one until there was only the Emperor and himself left to carry on his policy. But none of his enemies was able to produce a shred of evidence that he was dishonest. Obstinate he certainly was—that was how he earned the nickname of “ the Bull-Headed Premier.” He seems to have had a faculty for getting on the wrong side of colleagues—he was the steely, logical, ruthless type—with no idea of other people's susceptibilities and no use for compromise. It did not matter to him if other people felt his reforms to be doctrinaire, and his methods far too sweeping and sudden. He had his plan, it seemed obviously for the nation's good—in theory anyway—and he was

determined it would go through. Wang was no diplomat—but he was a fighter—and at least there was never any doubt of his burning and sincere determination to fight for the cause of the ordinary man.

Such was the man behind the greatest socialist experiment China ever tried. But what about the setting in which he went to work? Chinese history is such a vast canvas that any part of the picture must necessarily be painted in broad strokes of the brush. By the time of Wang An Shih and his great experiment, the brilliant T'ang Dynasty, highest peak of Chinese culture, was over. But the Sung Dynasty which succeeded it had its own glories in poetry, painting, and speculative philosophy. Wang himself was a poet and philosopher of some distinction; he produced a dictionary and wrote extensively on interpretation of classical literature, and he was more fortunate than most philosophers—he was able to put into practice on a big scale some of the ideas he had for the better ordering of human society. He was no ivory-tower philosopher; he spent most of his life down in the dusty arena of practical politics.

There were three main problems which Wang had to contend with—the difficult financial position of the Imperial Government, the economic plight of the common people, and the savage invasions of the northern tribes known as the Iron and the Gold Tartars.

He aimed therefore to balance the budget, to give the working classes reasonable economic security—be their champion against financiers and officials “on the make”—and to provide sound national defence.

In the first place, how was he going to save the Government money? He had a tidy, practical mind. It positively infuriated him to see the grain paid in as taxes being transported vast distances to the Capital. Transport costs were often greater than the value of the grain itself. Why not give the local officials control? They could sell the tax-grain in the local market, and buy an equivalent amount near the Capital for easy delivery. They would need a Government loan to be used as working capital, but it would save the Government money in the end by cutting down transport expenses. And anyway why should not the Government cash in on some of the private traders' profits on the grain market?

Then he set out to improve the lot of the working man—which in China meant the working farmer. It had been the custom long before his time for the Government to maintain large granaries to store the grain brought in as taxes. And in times of extreme distress it had also been the custom for the officials to distribute some of the grain as famine relief. Wang

attempted to put all this on a regulated commercial basis. Like most reformers he appealed to the past and based his reforms on the Chou Li. Under Wang's scheme the officials were to have the power to buy up surplus grain at a little over market price when prices were low—and thus help the farmers. Then they were to sell it again when it was dear at slightly under market price—and thus help the poor. In cases of severe famine it could be distributed free. This distribution would act as a kind of unemployment insurance in kind. The premiums would be the payments made into the granaries in good years.

But Wang had a further use for the Government granaries—and it gave rise to the most hotly contested of all his controversial measures, the one nicknamed "The Green Sprouts Act." This made arrangements for loans to farmers in spring, when the grain was sprouting, to be repaid to the Government with interest in the autumn. The rate of interest was fixed at 24 per cent per annum. We would consider this ruinously high, but then rates of interest have always been much higher in the Orient. Apparently the moneylenders in Wang's day were charging as much as 30, 40 or even 50 per cent per annum. In abnormally bad weather or flood conditions Wang's law allowed the farmers to suspend the payment of interest altogether.

Measures like these obviously went far towards establishing a State monopoly of the food trade. The various laws had been promulgated in rapid succession from 1069 onwards. To rush his programme through Wang even took extreme steps not unfamiliar to us—he put out of office those on the highly respected Board of Censors who dared to oppose his bills. The climax came in 1072 with the passing of the State Trade and Barter Measure. This law authorized the Government to purchase surplus stocks of all kinds, to enter into exchange and barter arrangements, and to issue loans to businesses and individuals. The idea was to protect the small firm and individual against the unscrupulous rigging of the market by the wealthy combine—"trust-busting" in fact. But it developed into a State price-control system and a virtual State monopoly of trade. No single trader could afford to compete with the State. One interesting criticism was that "the Emperor was bringing himself into disrepute by peddling ice, coal, and fruit like any other small merchant." Thirteen years later the measure was cancelled. The critics said the Government had made no money by it!

Another point at which Wang felt the ordinary man needed relief was from fear of the "press-gang." China has long known the system of collective labour on public works. The loess soil is fertile but easily eroded and liable to flood. So the Chinese from the earliest times have had to be willing to combine in large numbers on public projects—or

else perish. One of the early culture-heroes of China, Yü the Great, who lived about 2205 B.C., is chiefly remembered for his work in organizing the citizens for flood control. The last great example of Chinese teamwork is the construction of the Burma Road to carry supplies in the recent war. But the system has often been one of corvée or forced labour, which has borne down with crushing force on the ordinary peasant. Wang decided to alter the whole thing—and commute all public service into a graded money payment. Then he could use the funds thus realized to pay the wages of manual labourers and white-collar workers employed directly by the State.

There remained the problem of national defence on an insufficient budget, and Wang's attempt to solve this was an interesting one. He decided on a drastic reduction of the Regular Army and the formation of a strong Territorial Army, to be trained by both regular and territorial officers. There were to be three branches, cavalry, archers, and cross-bowmen. The Chief Censor seems to have agreed with Wang's analysis of the situation and his remedy, for he presented a memorial quite independently to the Emperor as follows :

"In case of an attack by the Tartars I venture to predict that the only defenders of our cities north of the Yellow River would be found to be composed of women and girls. For the soldiery who are stationed in the districts, and who engage in no farming or other productive work, would be found quite useless.

"And yet we continue to maintain them at the expense of the people. The policy of creating and maintaining a standing army leads to a great decrease in the number of those engaged in agriculture . . . This in turn involves the people in heavier taxation and an increase of the burden of public services. So the loyalty of the people gets strained and cannot be relied upon.

"On the contrary the policy of raising Militia or People's Corps, making soldiers of them while they continue their work of farming, tends to eliminate these evils . . . It is surely preferable to meet the Tartars by a policy which ensures the loyalty of the people than by pressing a policy which tends to deprive the State of such an asset."

This wise observation applies with equal force to the China of to-day. The Communist attack owed much of its success to the calculated attempts of the leaders to get the backing of the common people and to integrate their fighting in the field with their farm work at home.

Wang's Territorial Army Act provided for call-up in rotation each year for fixed periods of training and duty. Food allowances and cash bonuses were paid during these periods. The Government provided weapons and armour. They even gave prizes of silver dishes and wine for special

proficiency. The measure had some success, for official returns show that in one year there were over seven million men in training. The bandits felt the difference—they became much scarcer in the area round the capital.

It's difficult to say how far the measure succeeded in checking the Tartar invasions, for, like almost all the rest of Wang An Shih's reforms, it was rescinded within a few years and only partially restored later.

Why were these laws repealed within thirteen years? They seem logical and beneficial. They were carefully worked out. One of them, the "Green Sprouts Act," was successful and popular when Wang initiated the idea in his own district, and it was tried out experimentally in three other districts before being applied to the country as a whole. (And incidentally is this idea of a controlled experiment in legislation before it is introduced wholesale an idea which we could adopt with profit to-day—in the National Health Service, for instance?) In bringing in these reforms Wang certainly had the best of intentions and the highest of principles. Why then did they come in for such violent and almost unanimous opposition? Why did Wang's system break down so completely?

It broke down partly because of the inevitable opposition of vested interests. But there was more than that: there was the vast size of China, its lack of communications, the political ignorance of the people. There was a certain measure of success. If only his political opponents had maintained those features which the trial period of Chen Tsung's reign showed to be practicable and advantageous and had eliminated the rest it is probable that a permanent contribution of great value would have been made towards the solution of the economic problems of the Chinese people. The early 19th century economic theory took the position of Wang's opponent Ssu-Ma Kuang that there was a limited pool of wealth and that more to the Government meant less to the people. Wang said, and rightly, "increase productive capacity." The main reasons for failure seemed to have been the lack of moral standards on the part of the officials who administered the scheme—that and Wang's own inability to get people to work with him. He could influence the Emperor but he did not seem able to draw out the best from his associates, nor to build a team of convinced enthusiasts round him.

And only very keen backing would give his reforms a fair chance in practice. As for the officials in the provinces and country districts, there is evidence that where the schemes were honestly carried out, they were of real benefit to the people. But there is also tragic evidence that the dishonesty and self-seeking of many officials made the failure of the scheme in other places a certainty. For instance in the operation of the

"Green Sprouts Act," there were complaints about the conduct of many officials in dealing with cases of hardship. Instead of remitting the payment of interest, they compelled the unfortunate farmers to raise the money for the interest by contracting a new loan. And so a measure designed to relieve the struggling farmer had exactly the opposite effect.

If history is indeed philosophy, teaching by examples, the example of eleventh century China, with all its civilized and carefully organized community life, shows us that the paramount need is not new plans so much as new men and women to make them work. As Lord Eustace Percy remarked, when he was Minister of Education, "To expect a change of heart may be an act of faith. But to expect a change in society without it is an act of lunacy." Wang An Shih for all his wisdom missed the central fact that changes of system do not yield results unless the people have the spirit and will to make the system function. The decisive factor then as now is not the change of system but the change of heart.

THE EMERGENCE OF FORMOSA

By HAN LIH-WU*

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT has made great improvements on Formosa. The reduction of farm rentals, increasing local self-government, the rehabilitation of industry and agriculture are achievements of which the National Government may be justly proud.

Formosa is not small. Although not half of one per cent of the area of the mainland, it is larger than Holland and has a population of 8,400,000 including the armed forces. The Chinese name for Formosa is Taiwan. "Formosa" is a Portuguese word meaning beautiful. The island lives up to this name and has a pleasant climate.

In the five and a half years since the National Government took over Formosa many important production records in agriculture and industry have been broken. During the 51 years of Japanese occupation a good foundation was laid in communications, electric power, industry and agriculture, but this foundation was shaken during the war when Allied strategic bombing destroyed much of the island's industry—for example, in the sugar industry, the biggest in Formosa, out of 44 sugar refineries

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36 were destroyed during the war. Despite this handicap the National Government has been able, not only to rehabilitate the industries, but to surpass the pre-war records in many instances. Fertilizer production has exceeded the peak production under the Japanese by 80 per cent. The alkali industry, an export industry, has also been rehabilitated. The production of camphor has exceeded by 25 per cent the pre-war records. Electric power output is now 20 per cent higher than the pre-war level.

World War II crippled Formosa's agriculture to such an extent that at the time of the take-over the production of rice, the staple food of the island, was only 45 per cent of its peak production and fell short of local needs by 25 per cent. In the five years under the National Government there has been a steady increase in all types of agricultural produce. In 1945 rice production had fallen to 638,800 metric tons—by 1950 it had climbed to 1,412,900 metric tons. Wheat is under much more extensive cultivation now than before the war. In irrigation there is definite improvement on top of complete rehabilitation. Before World War II, over 60 per cent of Formosa's arable land or 561,999 hectares were under irrigation. The total irrigation area is now 611,899 hectares.

Fundamental reform has been carried out in the reduction of land rentals, thereby improving the livelihood of the farmers. On April 14, 1949, the Provincial Government decreed that no farm rent payable by the tenant to the landowner may exceed 37.5 per cent of the land's principal produce. This reform has substantially increased the income of tenant farmers who constitute about 70 per cent of the farmers in Taiwan. On an average, tenants now pay 16.5 per cent less in rent than before.

The fundamental difference in Formosa between the present and the period under Japanese occupation is that local leadership and local self-rule have been encouraged by the National Government. The people of Formosa clamoured for self-government for over twenty-five years. The Japanese suppressed this movement but, since the take-over, local self-rule has been steadily increasing. Since July 1950, elections for mayors and magistrates have been held and, by the end of April, 1951, all cities and counties will have elected mayors and magistrates. The election of heads and representative bodies in the towns and villages has been proceeding at the same time.

The Economic Co-operation Administration and its subsidiary, the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, have given immense help to Formosa and their aid will have an increasingly important influence in the future, nevertheless, most of the progress in Formosa has been made through self-help. Many problems remain but, looking over the record of the National Government in Formosa during the last five years, there is sound basis for optimism.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOLSHEVISM IN GEORGIA

By C. IMNADZE*

BOLSHEVISM first saw the light in London in 1903 at the Congress of the Pan-Russian Social Democrats with which were affiliated the Georgian Social Democratic organizations. Lenin seized control of the Central Committee of this Congress, and used this position to introduce all his own supporters into the Congress, and in this way he became master of all the local Federations throughout Russia. The old committees which were elected by the Party members were dismissed, and new ones appointed whose members were chosen by the Central Committee. Lenin did not return to Russia, but sent his directives to the Central Committee there, where they were passed on to the local Committees for execution; in this way the will of one man was imposed upon the Bolshevik Party.

To secure this domination, the Bolsheviks did not disclose the rift in the Party which had occurred in London, nor the Social Democratic tendency which defended the democratic principle within the Party itself. All publications dealing with this subject (which were printed abroad) were banned to the working class in Russia as much by the Bolsheviks as by the Tsarist police.

It was at the time of these changes in the Party that, for the first time, the fight against Bolshevism broke out in Georgia. In March, 1905, the Committee elected by the workers at Tbilisi, received the order to dissolve, and hand over their funds to the new Committee nominated by the Bolsheviks. N. Jordania had just returned secretly from abroad; he had been to the Congress in London and, from the beginning, had declared himself to be against the principles advocated by Lenin.

The heads of the movement, who were all workers, arranged a meeting at Tbilisi. This is how a Bolshevik wrote about the meeting in his memoirs: "About 40 of the more intellectually advanced workers were present at the meeting. Jordania was also there. He spoke of Bolshevism in general and of the order received from the Committee in particular; he affirmed that the Bolsheviks were excluding the workers from the Party. The meeting adopted his proposal. This was the first official meeting which did not obey the decisions of the higher organs. It was also the first meeting at which we learned of serious disagreements within the Party itself."

This was the first defeat suffered by the Bolsheviks at a workers' meeting. The old Committee elected by the workers was retained and the

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new Committee designated from above was rejected. From Tbilisi, this struggle spread through all the provinces of Georgia and the Bolsheviks were defeated in all the workers' and peasants' organizations. A pamphlet by Jordania against Lenin's doctrine called *Bolshevism or Social Democracy* contributed greatly to the defeat of the Bolsheviks. This pamphlet was published in Georgian and Russian and stated that "The Bolshevik ideal is a narrow organization, with all the power in the hands of a few individuals who are obeyed by the proletariat. These individuals determine and lead the revolution. The masses follow them. In this way, they destroy the old government and seize power." The aim of this revolution was to be defined by the Bolsheviks themselves. In 1905 they aimed at a democratic Republic, but in 1917, when Lenin returned from abroad, this aim was suddenly abandoned, and Lenin proclaimed a communist revolution.

Lenin's conception of the organization and politics of the Party was unacceptable to the Georgian workers, who turned their backs on the Bolsheviks. The latter, guided by Stalin and Makharadze, lost all influence over the masses. The Georgian Bolsheviks did not even select their candidates for the elections to the Four *Dumas*, and did not even receive mandates for the Pan-Russian Congress of the Party and were obliged to leave all political influence in the country to the Social Democrats.

INDEPENDENT GEORGIA

The Bolsheviks played no role whatever in the February revolution of 1917. Lenin's conception of revolution directed against autocratic power was found to be Utopian, but it was applied with vigour to bring about the downfall of the revolutionary democratic Government in Russia later on. The democratic Government established in Russia between February and October, 1917, was very weak and the liberty it established allowed its own enemies, the enemies of law and order and the advocates of civil war, to flourish and to train soldiers openly under the very nose of the Government. In this state of anarchy, the October *coup d'état* by Lenin's Bolshevik Party was bound to succeed.

On the other hand, in Georgia, the people followed the Social Democratic anti-Bolshevik organizations, all power being in their hands. A Workers' Council was organized in Tbilisi under the anti-communist banner, with Jordania as leader.

The Russian soldiers on the Turkish front and the Russian garrison at Tbilisi were rapidly converted to Bolshevism after the October *coup d'état* and immediately prepared to help the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks. One of them, Shaumianz, was named Commissar Extraordinary for Transcaucasia by Lenin. The Tbilisi Arsenal fell into the hands of the

Bolsheviks. The Workers' Council immediately mobilized their fighting men and regained control of the Arsenal on 11th December, 1917. The workers ordered the demobilization of the Russian garrison who obeyed and who, without firing a shot, left for Russia. At the same time, the Russian army abandoned the Turkish front and were pushed back towards Russia by the People's Guard which had been organized by the Council at Tbilisi. On 10th February, 1918, the Bolsheviks organized a meeting in the Alexander Park with a view to dissolving by force the Transcaucasian Diet and handing over the power to Shaumiantz, Stalin's lieutenant. The Council's armed workers charged and dispersed the meeting, leaving dead and wounded in the Park. From then onwards the Bolsheviks gave up fighting in the open and founded various illegal organizations, intending to pull off a coup. Moscow sent them large sums of money, men, and arms for this purpose. "Our misfortune," wrote Tsintsadze in his memoirs "was that the Transcaucasian Bolshevik organizations particularly those in Georgia, were very weak in comparison with those of the Social Democrats. Most of the workers followed the Social Democrats."

The Bolsheviks, beaten in the towns and industrial centres, went out among the peasants and started agitating in the backward mountain regions near the Russian frontiers.

On 26th May, 1918, the Transcaucasian Diet was dissolved as a result of external circumstances, and Georgia proclaimed her independence. Not long afterwards the President of the Workers' Council became National President to whom the Council handed over all its executive power and the People's Guard. The Council reserved for itself the right of organization and propaganda. It was in this way that, without difficulties of any kind, the various powers were put into the hands of the National Government.

At this time the Bolsheviks had the following secret organizations: the Transcaucasian Committee, the Military Council, the Military General Staff, and various armed bands. From Lenin and Stalin they received money and instructions. The Transcaucasian Bolshevik Committee decided to organize a general rising for August, starting at the Russian frontiers and using Russian Bolshevik forces. These armed bands penetrated into the provinces of Sukhumi along the Black Sea coast, for the first time on 17th June, 1918, and the Novorossiysk Council called upon the Georgian peasants to rise in revolt. The peasants did not respond to their appeal; the armed bands were pursued and routed. Similar bands appeared near Vladikavkaz on 20th June, and their local supporters moved south towards Tbilisi. The People's Guard barred their way, put them to flight and took their leader prisoner. In September,

Moscow tried again the same manoeuvre along the Black Sea, but the People's Guard again routed the invaders who fled towards Novorossiysk. At this time the Georgian Government arrested all the known Bolshevik leaders including Philip Makharadze.

From 1919 onwards the Bolshevik agents sent by Moscow to Georgia became more and more numerous. Having unlimited funds at their disposal they gathered around them all the bad elements.

In spite of the prompt action of the Government in arresting a number of these bandits, there were various attacks by armed bands in different parts of Georgia. They were defeated and many prisoners were taken. The Government decided to take severe action and put an end to these risings for good and all. With this object in view, the following decree was enacted by the National Assembly on 1st November, 1919: " . . . all those insurgents who had borne arms, as from 4th October, against the established order of the Country, would be tried on the spot by special military tribunals. The verdict would be carried out within 24 hours and there would be no appeal."

These tribunals came into force immediately and condemned to death all the leaders of the revolt and all those insurgents who had become assassins, incendiarists, plunderers, etc. Those who had committed lesser crimes were condemned to prison and penal servitude. The sentences were executed immediately.

After this courageous and determined action, the Bolsheviks were afraid to carry out their plans and several of them fled to Russia.

In May, 1920, the Soviet Government recognized "without reservation the independence and sovereignty of the State of Georgia" by a special Treaty of Peace, and "undertook to renounce all intervention in the internal affairs of Georgia." Following this, the Georgian Communists publicly declared their allegiance to the Georgian Republic and promised to keep law and order. The Government thereupon recognized their Party and gave them permission to work openly but in accordance with the Laws of the country. The Party then started publication of a paper entitled *The Communist*.

On 15th June, however, the Government issued a communique stating that the Bolsheviks were using their legalized position to foster secretly a new uprising, and that, consequently, the Party would have to be declared illegal. Armed bands of Bolsheviks began to make their appearance in various districts. On 7th December, 1920, the Press published an official statement to the effect that Moscow had decided to take over Georgia by a Communist *coup d'etat*. Details were given of the names of the emissaries from Russia, their instructions, their funds, their salaries, etc. The Government promptly arrested all the members of secret

organizations such as the Central Committee, the Revolutionary Committee, the Military *Etat-Major*, etc., together with all those adherents who had not had time to escape to Russia.

Moscow, finally convinced of the impossibility of taking possession of Georgia by underground methods, decided to resort to open military conquest and ordered the Red army, already massed on the frontiers, to invade the country. Thus, on February 11, 1921, Russia invaded Georgia in violation of the Treaty of Peace of May 1920. The Red armies converged on Georgia from the east, north, and north-west. After a five weeks' stubborn resistance, during which the invading armies had several critical setbacks, Georgia was finally crushed. The Constituent Assembly of Georgia, at its last Session at Batumi, on March 15, 1921, empowered President N. Jordania to go with his National Government into exile in Western Europe and there to work by all diplomatic means for the restoration of independence and sovereignty of Georgia.

GEORGIA OCCUPIED BY THE MOSCOW BOLSHEVISTS

Without distinction of class or position, the whole Georgian nation was hostile to the occupation of their country by Russian soldiers. The University and the workers' districts were the focal points of resistance. The political Parties went into hiding and formed secret organizations; workers and students organized meetings and demonstrations demanding the evacuation of the Russian armies. Result: mass deportation of workers and imprisonment for all known political leaders unsuccessful in finding a hiding-place.

It was at this time, in May, 1921, that Stalin arrived in Tbilisi in the hope that the Georgians would listen to him. On his arrival he arranged a meeting in the workers' quarter at which were gathered together many thousands of men and women. Stalin was greeted by whistles and jeers and cries of "Down with Stalin." After some time, the crowd calmed down and Stalin began his speech. This lasted two hours and was continually interrupted by the workers. He was followed on the platform by Isidore Ramishvili, Social Democrat and member of the first *Duma*, who was acclaimed by the crowd. His speech was a crushing indictment of Moscow and a triumph for the Georgian cause. Stalin left the meeting abruptly and immediately the Cheka appeared, dispersed the meeting and arrested a great many people. The following day Stalin dissolved the Central "Revkom" i.e. Revolutionary Committee, (government), which was "too soft" for his liking and set up another under Mdivani. The "cleaning-up" of Tbilisi then began.

The "Revkoms" of the small towns and villages consisted of ex-prisoners and criminals, well-known to the inhabitants. Not being willing

to be governed and ordered about by criminals, the peasants expelled them from their villages. Popular risings took place in the provinces of Kakheti, Svaneti and other places.

It was in fighting of this sort that Georgia started the year 1922. The anti-Communist parties decided to create a united committee known as Committee of Independence and to organize a general revolt. The Government shot 92 political prisoners at Tbilisi for the murder of a Bolshevik bandit who had been terrorising the district of Gori. In August, 1924 the whole of Georgia arose, but was again defeated through lack of arms and ammunition. The Government took terrible toll of the population by killing all political prisoners, even those who had been imprisoned prior to the rising in Georgia and Russia. Six thousand peaceful citizens, not counting those who took part in the movement were killed in the provinces, neither women nor children were spared. Twenty thousand people were deported to Siberia.

After those reprisals the Government introduced Kolkhoses, but the peasants demonstrated against these economic measures. Many of them fled to the mountains and the forests and organized armed groups which swooped down on the Kolkhoses, devastating them and killing the Bolshevik leaders. This type of resistance continued until 1932. Thanks to it, the peasant class has kept its entity in Georgia and has escaped the fate of the Russian peasants.

From 1932 onwards their tactics changed: secret political meetings took place and their chief weapon was the publication in secret of illegal pamphlets. The Social-Democratic Party alone lost nine printing presses in this struggle. The anti-Bolshevist massacres continued and blood flowed continually.

To this bloody struggle in Georgia must be added the political struggle abroad through the efforts of the National Government in exile, and political emigres. These are still carrying on an uninterrupted campaign for the re-establishment of Georgia's sovereignty and independence.

AN ASIAN JOURNEY

TO WRITE A BOOK about a journey through leper settlements and at the same time provide entertaining reading would appear to be an impossible task. Yet that is just what Donald Miller has done in *Red Earth and Summer Lilies*.^{*} The book, partly an autobiography and partly a travelogue, describes his recent journey through India, China, and Burma.

^{*} *Red Earth and Summer Lilies*. A. Donald Miller. Illustrated. Lutterworth Press. 7s. 6d. net.

The new India was just two months old when he arrived there ; he was in China during the first General Election under the Constitution ; he arrived in Burma only a week after it was declared an independent republic and his observations on the changes he noticed are shrewd and well-balanced ; as are his accounts of meetings with Mahatma Gandhi, the Lama of Tibet, and other national leaders.

Donald Miller's style is racy, tempered with periods of realism and sombreness. For instance, of leprosy in India he writes : "Leprosy has taken from India a very heavy toll through the centuries It mars, incapacitates, and often creates social ostracism. But it does not ordinarily kill. It improvishes both the sufferers and the land in which they live. At the present time there are probably, according to the estimates of leprologists who have made surveys in trial areas, not less than a million victims in India of the disease. Not all, of course, of these cases are advanced ones. Many are early cases ; others are mild ones. But there still must be hundreds of thousands who are either of the lepromatous type and who are spreading the disease to others, or of the advanced neural type, who suffer gross mutilation of hands and feet ; and who are often tragic spectacles of misery and neglect."

A sombre picture. But Donald Miller uses brighter hues when he describes with vivid detail the work of the Mission to Lepers—the oldest mission of its kind in the world—and the progress which is being made in combating the disease with the new Sulphone drugs. He states that these drugs are giving some surprising and heartening results : "The very cases which are more severe are responding most dramatically to these remedies. At present three main preparations are being used, Promin, Diasone, and Sulphetrone . . . it does look as though they possessed some power either directly to kill off the *lepra bacilli* or to make conditions for them so uncongenial that they disappear."

The challenge of these recent advances should make us restless until the last riddle of leprosy is solved. More resources of both men and money are required to press on with the task. And it is for this reason, in addition to the interesting, and at times amusing, account of Donald Miller's travels, that *Red Earth and Summer Lilies* should particularly appeal to readers of THE ASIATIC REVIEW ; who of their charity will also wish to support the work of the Mission to Lepers in a generous and practical manner.

E. S. E. D.

SADIQ HEDAYAT

By HENRY D. G. LAW

THE SUDDEN and tragic death of Sadiq Hedayat a few months ago has removed from the scene of contemporary Persian literature one of its most striking personalities and, so far as fiction is concerned, the most prolific, the most eminent and at the same time perhaps the most controversial writer in Persia. There will be many judgments passed on his work by his fellow countrymen ; and these judgments will be based on an estimate of his place in Persian literature viewed from two standpoints : that of the conservatives who value tradition highly, who venerate the past and find it hard to adapt themselves to the notion of a " popular " literature : a literature written about and for the ordinary people ; and a style of writing, in the manner and idiom of the common folk, which will be condemned by these critics as the debasement of a precious coinage. There will be others, however, who see in the work of Hedayat something new, exciting and alive ; who regard his style as the enrichment of the Persian language and a source of fresh life and vigour.

Sadiq Hedayat came from a family distinguished for generations in the official and cultural life of Persia. From the point of view of literary attainments Sadiq Hedayat may be counted as the most distinguished of them all, by reason of the amount, variety, and originality of his work which includes four volumes of short stories, five novels, a book of travel, a critique of Omar Khayyam, and two collections of Folk Lore. His four collections of stories, and his short novel " Buf-i-Kur " which is probably his masterpiece, were written between 1930 and 1943 ; but from time to time other short stories and miscellaneous pieces came from his pen until the time of his death.

When Hedayat began writing his short stories the " aristocratic " tradition still had a firm hold on Persian literature. It dates from the old days when those who practised the art of writing did so mainly for the pleasure and edification of wealthy patrons. And it is in keeping with this tradition that the essays in fiction of Hejazi which are immensely popular in Persia today and, in the eyes of the most austere critics, entirely free from any taint of " vulgarity," are written for the most part about and for the gentility, the cultured classes. The only jar which this tradition had suffered till Hedayat appeared on the scenes had come from the distinguished and still very much alive Jamalzadeh, who startled (and at the same time delighted) many of his countrymen by a bold initiative. In the preface to his book " Yaki Bud Yaki Nabud " (" Once upon a Time "), a collection of short stories, Jamalzadeh advanced some entirely

new theories about Persian culture and writing. Deploring the narrowness of culture in Persia, which was restricted to the elect few, the failure of education to reach the masses, and in consequence the complete inability of the people to understand and share the pleasures of reading (for what was written was obscure and unintelligible to them) he suggested that in order that culture might spread widely in all directions, thought should be clothed in the language which the mass of people would understand, in their own native idiom in fact, and presented in the guise of fiction which would interest and amuse and enlighten. Such writing would have the further merit of providing a record of the language of the people of Persia today, and of its gradually changing structure. This was a revolutionary idea; and Jamalzadeh the pioneer remained an isolated phenomenon till Hedayat started where Jamalzadeh had left off. Hedayat was well equipped for the role of disciple. He had an original and inventive mind; he had read and studied the work of French writers of fiction, he had a great gift of expression: but more important than all these he had genuine interest in and sympathy for the common people in Persia whose lot he deplored, and for the "under-dog" in general. Like George Eliot, herself a pioneer in the craft of fiction, Hedayat held the view that fiction should be based on real experience and enable readers to arrive at a deeper realization of the feelings and plight of common humanity. So he wrote about the lives of the ordinary people of his country, which he understood profoundly, and in their own language. His characters are the whole of humanity: the humble official, the beggar, the down and out, the villager, the rogues and scallywags of Shiraz. He describes the rustics' marriage ceremonies, he quotes the people's songs, describes the wayside hostelrys where the old men drink their tea, gossip, and smoke their pipes.

Many of Hedayat's tales have an obviously Western influence; some of them have their scene abroad. But it is the purely Persian tales which have the greatest interest for the foreign reader; for it is in these that Hedayat gives the fullest expression to his humanity, his sympathy for the masses with all the unhappiness and poverty they have to bear, his understanding of their minds and characters. In his story about Daud the hunchback Hedayat reveals that strain of pity for the outcast which is found so often in his stories—in the tale of the "Stray Dog" for example. The whole point lies in the last sentence. When Daud had sunk so low that he sought companionship with the utterly outcast, the dog (and he could sink no lower than that), the dog's death denied him even that consolation. The story of the woman who lost her husband is perhaps the most remarkable of all Hedayat's tales. It is the story of a young and pretty village girl who has a most unhappy life at home,

with a mother who dislikes and bullies her and a married sister who despises her. She falls suddenly in love with a big, burly brute of a man whom she meets when the villagers are all working together in the vineyard gathering in the grapes. They marry; and after a few months of happiness with her husband Gul Baba, Zarin Kulah finds herself tied to a sadist who bullies her and beats her unmercifully with the whip he also uses for his donkey. He deserts her, and yet Zarin Kulah cannot get him, even the whip, out of her mind. Taking her child with her, so poor she can hardly keep herself and the child alive except by begging, she goes in search of Gul Baba; finds him at last; is roughly and harshly rejected by him. In despair, Zarin Kulah abandons her child; and then, aimless but free, tries to patch up her life by joining the first man she comes across who reminds her of Gul Baba—a man riding along the road, with a donkey and a whip: just like Gul Baba's donkey and Gul Baba's whip. And he will certainly treat her in exactly the same way; and every time he beats her it will be almost as if her beloved Gul Baba were beating her. It all sounds sordid enough told like this; yet it is, in fact, a profoundly enthralling psychological study; and the way in which Hedayat gets "under the skin" of the characters in this small and strange drama of village life is a secret which only the great writers share.

Hedayat began by being a follower in Jamalzadeh's path. He ended by being a master and a leader in his own right. He has founded a school in the difficult art of short story writing in Persia which is now strong and alive, and showing commendable variety in scope and treatment. The work of Sadiq Chubak, Ibrahim Gulistan and Jalal al Ahmed must command the respect of any critic of Persian contemporary writing. Yet there is no longer a Hedayat: no longer that wide canvas, that penetrating understanding, that felicity of expression, and those passages of vivid description, of beauty and economy of style. One remembers especially the scene in "Cul de Sac" when Sharif watched his friend Muhsin, who was bathing in the Caspian Sea, drown in front of his eyes while he himself could do nothing to stop it, but remained on the shore helpless, or too timid to help. The whole incident, which haunted Sharif for the rest of his days and, in fact, shaped the whole of his life, has about it the quality of a nightmare, with a nightmare's sense of inevitability. "So it had to be" says Sharif, hoping thus to excuse himself; and "So it always is" say Hedayat. People are marked down by Destiny, and play the parts Destiny has assigned to them, without blame for they are without the power to shape or alter events: as Sharif was powerless to save his friend from death, or himself from endless shame and regret.